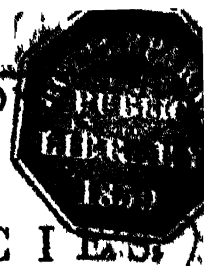


DISSERTATION
ON THE
PROPHECIES



WHICH HAVE
REMARKABLY BEEN FULFILLED,
AND AT THIS TIME
ARE FULFILLING IN THE WORLD.

By THOMAS (NEWTON) D. D.
LATE LORD BISHOP OF BRISTOL.

IN THREE VOLUMES.

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THE CONTENTS

OF THE SECOND VOLUME.

INTRODUCTION to the LECTURE founded by the Honourable
ROBERT BOYLE.

p. 15—25.

How and by whom the author was appointed to preach
the Boyle's Lecture, 15. Previous to the further ex-
planation of Daniel, a vindication is proposed of the
certainty of the prophecies, against his principal ob-
jections of unbelievers, 16. Collins's eleven objec-
tions particularly considered and refuted, 16. His first
objection, relating to the age of Daniel, refuted, 16.
His second objection, relating to the mistake of the
king's name, and to Nebuchadnezzar's madness refu-
ted, 17. His third objection, relating to the Greek
words found in Daniel, refuted, 18. His fourth ob-
jection, relating to the version of the seventy, refuted,
18. His fifth objection, drawn from the chronological
of Daniel's prophecies to the time of Antiochus Epi-
phanes, refuted, 19. His sixth objection, drawn from
the omission of Daniel in the Book of Ecclesiasticus, re-
futed, 20. His seventh objection, relating to Jona-
than's making no mention of Daniel, refuted, 20.
His eighth objection, drawn from the title of Daniel's
Child, refuted, 21. His ninth objection, drawn
from the language of the Jews, refuted, 21. His
tenth objection, drawn from Daniel's uncommon pen-
tality, and from the times, refuted, 22. His eleventh
objection, relating to Daniel's sitting forth facts very
imperfectly and contrary to other histories, and to his
dark and emblematic style, refuted, 22. The exter-
nal and internal evidence for the genuineness of the book
Daniel, 23. The division of the remainder of the

CONTENTS.

work, agreeable to the design of the honourable founder,
24. From the instance of this excellent person, and
others, it is shown that philosophy and religion
may well consist and agree together, 25.

DISSERTATION XV.

DANIEL' *vision of the ram and he-goat.*

p. 25—61.

The former part of the book of Daniel written in Chal-
dee, the rest in Hebrew, 25. The time and place of
the vision, 26. Like visions have occurred to others,
26. The ram with two horns represents the empire
of the Medes and Persians, 28. Why with two horns,
and one higher than the other, 28. Why this empire
likened to a ram, 29. The conquests of the ram, and
the great extent of the Persian empire, 29. The He-
goat represents the Grecian, or Macedonian empire,
30. Why this empire likened to a goat, 30. The
twistings of the he-goat, and the notable mark between
his eyes, what signified thereby, 30. An account of
the conquests of the goat, and of the Grecians over-
throwing the Persian empire, 32. These prophecies
shown to Alexander the Great, and upon what occa-
sion, 34. The truth of this story vindicated, 35. An-
swer to the objection of its being inconsistent with chro-
nology, 37. Answer to the objection taken from the
silence of other authors, besides Josephus, 38. Other
circumstances which confirm the truth of this relation,
39. How four horns succeeded to the great horn;
or how the empire of the goat was divided into four
kingdoms, 40. The little horn commonly understood
of Antiochus Epiphanes, but capable of another and
better application, 43. A horn doth not signify a
single king but a kingdom, and here the Roman em-
pire rather than Antiochus Epiphanes, 41. The par-
ticular properties and actions of the little horn agree
better with the Romans, as well as the general charac-
ter, 44. Reason of the appellation of the little horn
The time too agrees better with the Romans, 45.
The character of a king of fierce countenance and un-
derstanding.

CONTENTS.

of standing great sentences, more applicable to the Romans than to Antiochus, 47. Other actions likewise of the little horn accord better with the Romans, 48. Waxing exceeding great, 49. Toward the south, 48. Toward the east, 48. And toward the pleasant land, 49. The property of his power being mighty, but not by his own power, can nowhere be so properly applied as to the Romans, 49. All the particulars of the persecution and oppression of the people of God more exactly fulfilled by the Romans than by Antiochus, 50. It deserves to be considered whether this part of the prophecy be not a sketch of the fate and sufferings of the Christian, as well as of the Jewish church, 52. Instructions of the application of the little horn, 53. The little horn to come to a terrible end, which will be fulfilled in a more extraordinary manner in the Romans, than it was even in Antiochus, 53. It will further appear that the application is more proper to the Romans by considering the time allotted for the duration and continuance of the vision, 55. The 2,500 days or years can by no computation be accommodated to the times of Antiochus & his empire, 56. How they are computed, 57. Daniel's concern and affliction for his country, and this a further argument that not the calamities under Antiochus, but those brought upon the nation by the Romans, were the subject of this prophecy, 58. From this and other examples it may be inferred, that the scriptures will never abate but rather encourage our love for our country, 60.

DISSERTATION XVI.

Daniel's prophecy of the things noted in the scripture of truth

IN TWO PARTS.

PART I.

p. 61—101.

This latter prophecy a comment upon the former, 61.

Imparted to Daniel after fasting and prayer, 61. A

A 3

prophecy

CONTENTS.

richer for many days or years, 62. Of the Persian
 empire, 62. The three first kings of Persia after
 Cyrus, 62. The fourth far richer than all, 62. His
 rising up all against the realm of Grecia, 62. Why
 no more kings of Persia mentioned, 63. A short
 sketch of Alexander's great dominion, 64: His fa-
 mily soon extinct, and his kingdom divided into four
 kingdoms, 64. Of these four two only have a place
 in this prophecy, Egypt and Syria, and why, 66.
 Why called the kings of the south and the north, 66.
 Ptolemy king of the south or Egypt, very strong, but
 Seleucus king of the north or Syria, strong above him,
 67. The transaction between Ptolemy Philadelphus
 of Egypt and Antiochus Theus of Syria, 68. Ptolemy
 Euergetes of Egypt revenges the wrong of his family
 upon Seleucus Callinicus of Syria, 70. The short
 glorious reign of Seleucus Ceraunus of Syria, 72.
 Succeeded by his brother Antiochus the Great, who
 gained great advantages over the king of Egypt, 73.
 But Ptolemy Philopator obtains a signal victory over
 Antiochus at Raphia, 74. His vicious and shameful
 conduct afterwards, and cruelty to the Jews, 76.
 Antiochus prepares again to invade Egypt in the mi-
 nority of Ptolemy Epiphanes, 77. Philip king of
 Macedon, and the Jews, associate with him, 78. His
 success against the king of Egypt, 74 *. His favour
 to the Jews, 76 *. His scheme to seize upon the
 kingdom of Egypt frustrated, 77 *. His unhappy
 war with the Romans, 83 *. The latter end of his
 life and reign inglorious, 84 *. The mean reign of
 his son and successor Seleucus Philopator, 86. An-
 tiochus Epiphanes, the brother of Seleucus, obtains
 the kingdom by flatteries, 87. His freaks and extra-
 vagances, 88. His successes against his competitors,
 and removal of the high priests of the Jews, 88. His
 cruelty and profusion, 91. The claims of Ptolemy
 Philopator king of Egypt upon him, and his prepara-
 tions against Egypt, 92. He invades and makes
 himself master of all Egypt except Alexandria, chiefly
 by the treachery of Ptolemy Philometor's own mini-
 sters and subjects, 93. Ptolemy Philometor and An-
 tiochus Epiphanes, speak lies at one table, 94. Anti-
 ochus

ochus returns with great spoils, 96. His cruelty to the Jew, 97. He invades Egypt again, and is hindered from totally subduing it by an embassy from the Romans, 97. He returns therefore, and vents all his anger upon the Jews, 99. Abolishes the Jewish worship by the instigation of the apostate Jews, 99. Conclusion to show that this prophecy is more exact and circumstantial than any history, 101.

DISSERTATION XVII.

The same subject continued.

PART II.

P. 101—140.

More obscurity in the remaining part of the prophecy, 101. Polluting the sanctuary, taking away the daily sacrifice, and placing the abomination of desolation, more properly applicable to the Romans than to Antiochus Epiphanes, with the reasons for passing from Antiochus to the Romans, 102. What follows more truly, applicable to the afflicted state of the primitive Christians after the destruction of Jerusalem than to the times of Antiochus, 106. The little help and the persecutions afterwards cannot be applied to the times of the Maccabees, but to the Emperor's becoming Christian, and the succeeding of persecutions, 107. The Antichristian power, the principal source of these persecutions, described, 110. How long to prosper, 112. Described here as exerted principally in the eastern empire, 112. His not regarding the God of his fathers, nor the desire of women, falsely affirmed of Antiochus, but truly of this Antichristian power, 113. His honouring Mahuzzim with precious gifts, and what they are, 115. Other instances of his regard to Mahuzzim, in glorifying their priests and ministers, 116. The remaining part, more applicable to other events than to the transactions of Antiochus, 121. After the account of the degeneracy of the church follows a prediction of its punishment, especially in the eastern part of it, by the Saracens and Turks, 122. *Judea and the*
nei

neighbouring countries to be subdued, but the Arabians to escape, not verified by Antiochus, but by the Turks, 125. The Turks could never subdue the Arabians, but on the contrary pay them an annual pension, 126. The total subjection of Egypt together with Libya and Ethiopia, not accomplished by Antiochus, but by the Turks, 129. The rest of the prophecy yet to be fulfilled, 130. Cannot be applied to Antiochus, but belong to the Ottoman empire, 132. What the tidings from the east and north, 132. What meant by going forth to destroy and utterly to make away many, 133. What by planting his camp between the seas in the glorious holy mountain, 133. The same things foretold by Ezekiel in his prophecy concerning Gog of the land of Magog, 133. The great tribulation, and the subsequent resurrection, can it be applied to the time of the Maccabees, 134. An inquiry into the time of these events, 135. A conjecture about the different periods of 1260 years, 1290 years, and 1335 years, 135. Conclusion to shew the vast variety and extent of this prophecy, and from thence to prove that Daniel was a true prophet, 138.

DISSERTATION XVIII.

Our SAVIOUR'S prophecies relating to the destruction of JERUSALEM.

IN FOUR PARTS

PART I.

p 142—167.

- 1 Prophecies and miracles continued longer in the Jewish church than in the Christian, and why, 142. No Christian prophecies recorded, but some of our Saviour, and his apostles, particularly St Paul and St John, 143. A short summary of our Saviour's prophecies, 143. None more remarkable than those relating to the destruction of Jerusalem, which were written and published several years before that event, 144. Our Saviour's tenderness and affection for his country shewn in his lamenting

CONTENTS.

ing and weeping over Jerusalem, 146. The magnificence of the temple, and particularly the prodigious size of the stones, 148. The total and utter destruction of the city and temple foretold, and both destroyed accordingly, 148. The purport of the disciples question and the phrases of the coming of Christ and of the end of the world, shewn to signify the destruction of Jerusalem, 150. The disciples ask two things, first the time of the destruction of Jerusalem, and secondly the signs of it; our Saviour answers the last first, 151. False Christs the first sign, 152. The next signs wars and rumours of wars, 154. Nation rising against nation, and kingdom against kingdom, 154. Famines, pestilences, and earthquakes in divers places, 156. Fearful sights and great signs from heaven, 157. These the beginning of sorrows, 160. From the calamities of the nation he passeth to those of the Christians in particular, 160. As cruel persecutions, 160. Apostates and traitors of their own brethren, 161. False teachers and false prophets, 162. Lukewarmness and coolness among Christians, 162. But still he that shall endure to the end, the same shall be saved, 163. The gospel to be universally published before the destruction of Jerusalem, and was so in Britain as well as other parts, 163. Reflections upon what hath been said, 165. The first upon the surprising manner in which these prophecies have been fulfilled, 165. Another upon the sincerity and ingenuity of Christ, and the courage and constancy of his disciples, 165. A third on the sudden and amazing progress of the gospel, 165. A fourth on the signals and presages of the ruin of states, 166.

DISSERTATION XIX.

The same subject continued.

PART II.

p. 167—190

After the circumstances which passed before the siege, we are to treat with those which happened during the siege and after it, 167. The abomination of desolation standing in the holy place, the Roman army besieging Jerusalem,

Jerusalem, 167. Then the Christians to fly into the mountains, 167. Their flight must be sudden and hasty, 169. Woe unto them that are with child and that give suck in those days, exemplified, particularly in the story of a noble woman, who killed and eat her own sucking child, 170. To pray that their flight be not in the winter, neither on the sabbath-day, 171. Providentially ordered that there were such favourable opportunities of escaping before the city was closely besieged, 171. The great calamities and miseries of the Jewish nation in those days, 173. None of the Jews would have escaped destruction, had not the days been shortened for the sake of the Christian Jews, 175. A more particular caution against false Christs and false prophets about the time of the siege and destruction of Jerusalem, 176. Their pretending to work miracles, 177. Their conducting their followers into the desert, or into the secret chambers, 178. But the coming of Christ will not be in this or that particular place, he will be taking vengeance of the Jews every where, 180. Some considerations upon the conduct of these false Christs and false prophets, 181, &c. It may reasonably be inferred from hence, that there hath been a true prophet, a true Christ, 182. The Messiah particularly expected about the time of our Saviour, 182. The Messiah to work miracles, 183. Jesus alone hath performed the miracle, which the Messiah was about to perform, 184. The difference between the conduct and success of these deceivers and of Jesus Christ, 184. The force of superstition and enthusiasm in their deluding such numbers, 185. All are not to be credited, who pretend to work miracles, 186. How we are to judge of miracles, 187. What we are to think of the Pagan, 187. And what of the Popish miracles, 188.

DISSERTATION XX.

The same subject continued.

PART III.

p. 190—209.

1. destruction of Jerusalem retold in very figurative language, 190. The like figures used by the an-

CONTENTS

117

cient prophets, 190. The same figurative stile in the following verses, 191. Dr Warburton's account of this figurative language, 192. The number of those who fell by the edge of the sword, 194. An account of those who were led away captive into all nations, 195. Jerusalem trodden down of the Gentiles 196. A deduction of the history of Jerusalem from the destruction by Titus to the present time, 197. Its ruined and desolate state under Vespasian and Titus, 197. Rebuilt by Adrian, and the Jews rebellion thereupon, and final dispersion, 198. Repaired by Constantine, and adorned with many stately edifices and churches, with a farther dispersion of the Jews, 199. Julian's purpose to settle the Jews, and his attempt to rebuild the temple miraculously defeated, 201. State of Jerusalem under the succeeding emperors, 202. Taken and plundered by the Persians, 202. Surrendered to the Saracens, 203. Passes from the Saracens to the Turks of the Selzuccian race, and from the Turks to the Egyptians, 204. Taken from the Egyptians by the Franks or Latin Christians, 205. Recovered by the sultans of Egypt, 205. Comes under the dominion of the Mamelucs, 206. Annexed to the dominions of the Turks of the Othman race, in whose hands it is at present, 207. Likely to remain in subjection to the Gentiles, until the times of the Gentiles be fulfilled, 208. What the fulfilling of the times of the Gentiles, 209.

DISSERTATION XXI.

The same subject continued.

PART IV.

p. 210—221.

From the signs our Saviour proceeds to treat concerning the time of the destruction of Jerusalem, 210, &c. He affirms that it would be in the present generation, 211. Some then living would behold and suffer these calamities, 211. But still the exact time unknown to all creatures, 211. According to St Mark unknown to the Son, 213. The genuineness of the text vindicated, 214.

and the sense explained, 213. The destruction of Jerusalem typical of the end of the world, 215. Reflections upon the whole, 215. The exact completion of these prophecies a strong proof of revelation, 215. The prophecies plain and easy, taken from Moses and Daniel, but improved and enlarged, 216. Vespasian and Titus wonderfully raised up and preserved for the completion of these prophecies, and Josephus for the illustration of their completion, 217. The great use and advantage of his history in this respect, 217. The cause of these heavy judgments on the Jews, their crucifying of Jesus, 219. Some correspondence between their crime and their punishment, 219. Application to us Christians, 220.

DISSERTATION XXII.

ST PAUL'S prophecy of the Man of Sin.

p. 221—259.

St Paul's and St John's prophecies copied from Daniel with some improvements, 221. Two most memorable prophecies of St Paul, the first of the man of sin, 221. I. The sense and meaning of the passage, 222. The coming of Christ in this place, and the day of Christ, not meant of the destruction of Jerusalem, but of the end of the world, 223. Other memorable events to take place before, 225. What the apostasy, 225. Who the man of sin, 226. His exalting himself, 226. His sitting in the temple of God, 227. These things communicated before to the Thessalonians, 228. What hindered the revelation of the man of sin, 228. His destruction foretold before his other qualifications, 229. His other qualifications described, 230. II. This prophecy strangely mistaken and misapplied by some famous commentators, 230, &c. Grotius's application of it to Caligula and Simon Magus, refuted, 231. Hammond's application of it to Simon Magus and the Gnostics, refuted, 231. Le Clerc's application of it to the rebellious Jews and Simon the son of Gioras refuted, 235. Whitby's applications of it to the Jewish nation with their high-priest and Sanhedrim, refuted, 236. Wetstein's application of it to Titus and the Flavian family, refuted,

237. They bid fairer for the true interpretation, who apply it to events after the destruction of Jerusalem, 239. Application of it to Mohammed, refuted, 239. Application of it to the Reformation, refuted, 240. Application to the future Antichrist of the papists, refuted, 241. III. The true application of this prophecy, 241, &c. The apostasy charged upon the church of Rome, 242. The pope shewn to be the man of sin, 243. How these things came to be mentioned in an epistle to the Thessalonians rather than to the Romans, 245. The seeds of popery sown in the apostle's time, 245. The empire of the man of sin raised on the ruins of the Roman empire, 246. Machiavel cited to shew how this was effected, 246. Miracles pretended in the church of Rome, 249. The empire of the man of sin will be totally destroyed, 250. The man of sin the same as the little horn or mighty king in Daniel, 250. Generally both by ancients and moderns denominated Antichrist, 251. The ancient fathers give much the same interpretation of this whole passage, 251. Justin Martyr, Irenæus, and Tertullian in the second century, 251. Origen in the third century, 252. Lactantius, Cyril, and Ambrose in the fourth century, 252. Jerome, Austin, and Chrysostome in the latter end of the fourth, or the beginning of the fifth century, 253. Whosoever affected the title of universal bishop, he was Antichrist, in the opinion of Pope Gregory the Great, 255. How the true notion of Antichrist was suppressed, and revived again with the Reformation, 256. How this doctrine afterwards became unfashionable, but is now growing into repute again, 257. Conclusion, such a prophecy at once a proof of revelation, and an antidote to popery; the blindness of the papists in this particular, 258.

DISSERTATION XXIII.

ST PAUL'S prophecy of the Apostasy of the latter times.

p. 259—287.

St Paul much affected with the foresight of the great apostasy of Christians, 259. Described here more particularly,

VOL. II.

B

particularly, 260. I. The apostasy shewn to be idolatry, 261. *Some* in scripture often signifies *many*, 262. The apostasy to be great and general, 263. The same in the Jewish and Christian church, 264. Shewn more particularly to consist in the worshipping of demons, 264. Demons in the Gentile theology middle powers and mediators between the gods and men, 265. Two kinds of demons, souls of men deified or canonized after death, and separate spirits, 266. Good and bad demons, 267. The Gentile notion of demons has sometimes place in scripture, 268. A passage in Epiphanius, that much confirms and illustrates the foregoing exposition, 271. The worship of saints and angels now the same as the worship of demons formerly, 273. The rise of this worship, 273. Too much promoted and encouraged by the fathers from Constantine's time, and particularly by Theodoret, 274. The conformity between the Pagan and Popish worship, 277. III. The worship of the dead to take place in the latter times, 277. What these latter times are, 277. IV. The worship of demons foretold expressly by the Spirit in Daniel, 278. V. Propagated and established through the hypocrisy of liars, 280. VI. Forbidding to marry, a farther character of these men, 282. Who first recommended the profession of single life, 282. The same persons, who prohibited marriage, promoted the worship of the dead, 283. VII. The last note of these men, commanding to abstain from meats, 285. The same persons, who propagated the worship of the dead, impose also abstinence from meats, 285. This abstinence perverting the purpose of nature, 286. All creatures to be received with thanksgiving, 286.

INTRODUCTION

TO THE LECTURE FOUNDED BY THE HONOURABLE

ROBERT BOYLE,

January 5, 1756.

THERE is not a stronger or more convincing proof of divine revelation than the *sure word of prophecy*. But to the truth of prophecy it is objected, that the predictions were written after the events; and could it be proved as well as asserted, it would really be an insuperable objection. It was thought therefore that a greater service could not be done to the cause of Christianity, than by an induction of particulars to shew, that the predictions were prior to the events, nay that several prophecies have been fulfilled in these later ages, and are fulfilling even at this present time: And for the farther prosecution and the better encouragement of this work, I have been called to preach these lectures, by the favour and recommendation of *the great prelate*, who having himself written most excellently of *the use and intent of prophecy*, is also willing to reward and encourage any one who bestows his time and pains upon the same subject. The ready and gracious concurrence of the * other trustees, was an additional honour and favour, and is deserving the most grateful acknowledgements. Engaging in this

B 2

service

* The trustees appointed by Mr Boyle himself were Sir John Rotheram, Serjeant at law, Sir Henry Ashurst of London, Knight, and Earl Thomas Tenison, D. D. afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury, and John Evelyn Esq; Archbishop Tenison, the survivor of these, nominated and appointed for trustees, Richard Earl of Burlington; Dr Edmund Gibson, then Archdeacon of Surry, afterwards Lord Bishop of London; Dr Charles Trimmel, then Bishop of Norwich, afterwards Bishop of Winchester; Dr White Kennet, then Dean, afterwards Bishop of Peterborough; and Dr Samuel Bradford, then Rector of St Mary Le Bow, afterwards Bishop of Rochester. The Earl of Burlington, being the only surviving trustee, appointed to succeed him in the said trust, William then Marquis of Hartington, now Duke of Devonshire, Dr Thomas Sherlock Lord Bishop of London, Dr Martin Benson Lord Bishop of Gloucester, Dr Thomas Secker Lord Bishop of Oxford now Archbishop of Canterbury, and the Honourable Richard Arundell, Esq; of whom Bishop Benson died before, and Mr Arundell since, the appointment of the present lecturer.

service may indeed have retarded the publication of these discourses longer than was intended : but perhaps they may be the better for the delay, since there have been more frequent occasions to review and reconsider them ; and time corrects and improves works as well as generous wines, at least affords opportunities of correcting and improving them.

This work hath already been deduced to the prophecies of Daniel : and as some time and pains have been employed in explaining some parts of his prophecies, and more will be taken in explaining other parts ; it may be proper, before we proceed, to consider the principal objections which have been made to the genuineness of the book of Daniel. It was before asserted, that the first who called in question the truth and authenticity of Daniel's prophecies was the famous Porphyry, who maintained that they were written about the time of Antiochus Epiphanes : but he was amply refuted by * Jerome and hath been and will be more amply refuted still in the course of these dissertations. A modern infidel hath followed Porphyry's example, and his *scheme of literal prophecy* hath heaped together all that he could find or invent against the book of Daniel, and hath comprised the whole in eleven objections, in order to shew that the book was written about the time of the Maccabees : but he likewise hath been refuted to the satisfaction of every intelligent and impartial reader ; as indeed there never were any arguments urged in favour of infidelity, but better were always produced in support of truth. The substance of his † objections and of the answers to him may with truth and candour be represented in the following manner.

1. It is objected that the famous Daniel mentioned by Ezekiel, could not be the author of the book of Daniel ; because Ezekiel, who prophesied in the ' fifth year of Jehoiakim ' king of Judah, implies Daniel at that time to be a person in years ; whereas the book of Daniel speaks of Daniel at that time as a youth. But here the objector is either ignorantly or wilfully guilty of gross misrepresentation

* Hieron. comment in Dan. Vol. 3. Edit. Benedict.

† See Collins's Scheme of literal prophecy, p. 149—157. Bishop Chandler's Vindication p. 4—157. Sam. Chandler's Vindication, p. 3, 76.

tation. For Ezekiel did not prophesy 'in the fifth year of Jehoiakim,' nor in the reign of Jehoiakim at all: but he began to prophesy in the 'fifth year of king Jehoiachin's captivity,' the son and successor of Jehoiakim, Ezek. i. 2. that is eleven years after. When Daniel was first carried into captivity, he might be a youth * about eighteen: but when Ezekiel magnified his piety and wisdom, Chap. xiv. and xxviii. he was between thirty and forty: and several years before that he had interpreted Nebuchadnezzar's dream and was advanced, Dan. ii. 48. to be 'ruler over the whole province of Babylon, and chief of the governors over all the wise men of Babylon;' and was therefore very fit and worthy to be celebrated by his fellow-captive Ezekiel.

2. His second objection is, that Daniel is represented in the book of Daniel as living chiefly at the courts of the kings of Babylon and Persia; and yet the names of the several kings of his time are all mistaken in the book of Daniel. It is also more suited to a fabulous writer than to a contemporary historian, to talk of 'Nebuchadnezzar's dwelling with the beasts of the field, and eating grass like oxen,' &c. and then returning again to the government of his kingdom. Here are two objections confounded in one. As to the mistake of the kings names, there are only four kings mentioned in the book of Daniel, Nebuchadnezzar, Belshazzar, Darius the Mede, and Cyrus. Of the first and the last there was never any doubt; and the other two may be rightly named, though they are named differently by the Greek historians, who yet differ as much one from another as from Daniel. It is well known that the eastern monarchs had several names; and one might be made use of by one writer, and another by another. It is plainly begging the question, to presume without farther proof, that Daniel was not the oldest of these writers; and had not better opportunities of knowing the names than any of them. As to the case of Nebuchadnezzar, it is related indeed in the prophetic figurative style. It is the interpretation of a dream, and strict of its figures the plain meaning is, that Nebuchadnezzar should be punished with madness, should fancy himself a beast, and live like a beast, should be 'made to eat grass

as oxen,' be obliged to live upon a vegetable diet, but after some time should recover his reason, and resume the government. And what is there fabulous or absurd in this? The dream was not of Daniel's inditing, but was told by Nebuchadnezzar himself. The dream is in a poetic strain, and so likewise is the interpretation, the better to show how the one corresponded with the other, and how the prophecy and event agreed together.

3. He objects that the book of Daniel could not be written by that Daniel who was carried captive in the Babylonish captivity, because it abounds with derivations from the Greek, which language was unknown to the Jews till long after the captivity. The assertion is false that the book of Daniel *abounds* with derivations from the Greek. There is an affinity only between some few words in the Greek and the Chaldee language: and why must they be derived the one from the other? or if derived, why should not the Greeks derive them from the Chaldee, rather than the Chaldees from the Greek? If the words in question could be shown to be of Greek extraction, yet there was some communication between the eastern kingdoms and the Colonies of the Greeks settled in Asia Minor before Nebuchadnezzar's time; and to some particular terms might pass from the Greek into the oriental languages. But on the contrary the words in question are shown to be not of Greek but of eastern derivation; and consequently passed from the east to the Greeks, rather than from the Greeks to the east. Most of the words are names of musical instruments; and the Greek * acknowledge that they received their music from the eastern nations, from whence they themselves originally descended.

4. It doth not appear, says the objector, that the book of Daniel was translated into Greek; when the other books of the Old Testament were, which are attributed to the Seventy; the present Greek version, inserted in the Septuagint, being, taken from Theodotion's translation of the Old Testament made in the second century of Christ.

* *Και τῇ Διανοῇ τῇ Ἀσίαν ὅλην καθιέρωσαντες μέχρι τῆς Ἰνδίας, καὶ διὰ καὶ τὴν πολλὴν μουσικὴν μεταφίενται.* *Et cum baccho totam Asiam ad Indiam usque consecraverunt, magnam quoque musicae partem inde transferunt.* Strabo, Lib. 10. p. 471. dit. Paris. 1620. p. 322. Edit. Amstel. 1707. Vide etiam Athenæi, Lib. 14. p. 6. 5. &c.

Christ. But it doth appear, that there was an ancient Greek version of Daniel, which is attributed to the Seventy, as well as the version of the other books of the Old Testament. It is cited by Clemens Romanus, Justin Martyr, and many of the ancient fathers. It was inserted in Origen, and filled a column of his Hexapla. It is quoted several times by Jerome; and he saith * expressly, that the version of the Seventy was repudiated by the doctors of the church, and that of Theodotion substituted in the room of it, because it came nearer to the Hebrew verity. This version hath also been lately published from an ancient M. S. discovered in the Chigian library at Rome.

5 It is objected that divers matters of fact are spoken of with the clearness of history, to the times of Antiochus Epiphanes, who is very particularly dwelt upon, and that with great and seeming flesh resentment for his barbarous usage of the Jews: and this clearness determined Porphyry, and would determine any one to think, that the book was written about the times of Antiochus Epiphanes, the author appearing to be well acquainted with things down to the death of Antiochus but not farther. But what an argument is this against the book of Daniel? His prophecies are clear, and therefore are no prophecies: as if an all-knowing God could not foretell things clearly: or as if there were not many predictions in other prophets, as clear as any in Daniel. If his prophecies extend not lower than the times of Antiochus Epiphanes, his commission might be limited there, and he would not go beyond his commission. But it hath been shewn, and will be shewn, that there are several prophecies in Daniel relating to times long after the death of Antiochus, and these prophecies are as clear as those before the death of Antiochus. Neither is Antiochus so very particularly dwelt upon as is commonly imagined; neither is he spoken of with greater resentment, than other prophets express towards the kings of Assyria and Babylon. All honest

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* *Danielem prophetam juxta Septuaginta interpretes Domini Salvatoris ecclesiae non legunt utentes Theodotiones editione:—quod multum a veritate discordet, et recto judicio repudiatus sit. Hieron. Praef. in Dan. Vol. i. p. 987. Judicio magistrorum ecclesiae editio eorum (LXX) repudiata est, et Theodotionis vulgo legitur, quae et Hebraeo, et cæteris translatoribus congruit, &c. Comment. in Dan. iv. Col. 1088. Vol. 3. Edit. Benedict.*

men, who love liberty and their country, must speak with indignation of tyrants and oppressors.

6. His sixth objection is, that Daniel is omitted among the prophets recited in Ecclesiasticus, where it seems proper to have mentioned him as a Jewish prophet-author, had the book under his name been received as canonical, when Ecclesiasticus was published. It might have been proper to have mentioned him, had the author been giving a complete catalogue of the Jewish canonical writers. But that is not the case. He mentions several who never pretended to be inspired writers, and omits others who really were so. No mention is made of Job and Ezra, and of the books under their names, as well as of Daniel: and who can account for the silence of authors in any particular at this distance of time? Daniel is proposed 1 Macc. ii. 60. as a pattern by the father of the Maccabees, and his wisdom is highly recommended by Ezekiel: and these are sufficient testimonies of his antiquity, without the confirmation of a later writer.

7. It is objected, that Jonathan, who made the Chaldee paraphrases on the prophets, has omitted Daniel: from whence it should seem, the book of Daniel was not of that account with the Jews, as the other books of the prophets were. But there are other books, which were always accounted canonical among the Jews, and yet have no Chaldee paraphrases extant, as the books of Ezra and Nehemiah. Jonathan might perhaps not make a Targum or Chaldee paraphrase on Daniel, because half of the book is written in Chaldee. Or he might have made a Targum on Daniel, and that Targum may have been lost, as other ancient Targums have been destroyed by the injury of time; and there are good proofs in the Misna and other writers cited by bishop Chandler, that there was an ancient Targum on Daniel, yet in his interpretation of other prophets, he frequently applies the prophecies of Daniel, as fuller and clearer in describing the same events; and consequently Daniel was in his esteem a prophet, and at least of equal authority with those before him. The ranking of Daniel among the Hagiographa, and not among the prophets, was done by the Jews since Christ's time for very obvious reasons. He was always
esteemed

esteemed a prophet by the ancient Jewish church. Our Saviour calleth him 'Daniel the prophet;' and Josephus * speaketh of him as one of the greatest of the prophets.

8. That part of Daniel, says the objector, which is written in Chaldee, is near the stile of the old Chaldee paraphrases: which being composed many hundred years after Daniel's time, must have a very different stile from that used in his time, as any one may judge from the nature of language, which is in a constant flux, and in every age deviating from what it was in the former: And therefore that part could not be written at a time very remote from the date of the eldest of those Chaldee paraphrases. But by the same argument Homer cannot be so ancient an author, as he is generally reputed, because the Greek language continued much the same many hundred years after his time. Nay the stile of Daniel's Chaldee differs more from that of the old Chaldee paraphrases, than Homer doth from the latest of the Greek classic writers: and when it was said by Prideaux and Kidder, whose authority the objector alledges, that the old Chaldee paraphrases came near to the Chaldee of Daniel, it was not said absolutely but comparatively, with respect to other paraphrases, which did not come near to Daniel's purity.

9. It is objected that the Jews were great composers of books under the names of their renowned prophets, to do themselves honour, and particularly under the name of Daniel: and the book of Daniel seems composed to do honour to the Jews, in the person of Daniel, in making a Jew superior to all the wise men in Babylon. If there is any force in this objection, it is this. There have been books counterfeited under the names of men of renown, therefore there can be no genuine books of the same men. Some pieces in Greek have been forged under the name of Daniel, and therefore he wrote no book in Chaldee and Hebrew long before these forgeries. In like manner some poems have been ascribed to Homer and Virgil, which were not of their composing; and therefore the one did not compose the Iliad, nor the other the Æneid. Some false writings have been attributed to St Peter and St Paul; and therefore there are no true writings of those apostles. Such arguments sufficiently expose

* Joseph. Antiq. Lib. 10. Cap. 10, et 11.

expose and refute themselves. One would think the inference should rather lie on the other side. Some books have been counterfeited in the name of this or that writer; and therefore that there were some genuine books of his writing, is a much more probable presumption than the contrary.

10. The tenth objection is, that the author of the book of Daniel appears plainly to be a writer of things past after a prophetic manner, by his uncommon punctuality, by not only foretelling things to come, like other prophets, but fixed the time when the things were to happen. But other prophets and other prophecies have prefixed the times for several events; as 120 years for the continuance of the antediluvian world; 400 years for the sojourning of Abraham's seed in a strange land; 40 years for the peregrination of the children of Israel; 65 years for Ephraim's continuing a people; 70 years for the desolation of Tyre; 70 years for Judah's captivity; and the like: and therefore the fixing of the times cannot be a particular objection against the prophecies of Daniel. Daniel may have done it in more instances than any other prophet: but why might not God, if he was so pleased foretell the dates and periods of any events, as well as the events themselves? Josephus, whom the objector hath quoted upon this occasion, differs totally from him. He * ascribes this punctuality to divine revelation, not like the objector, to the late composition of the book. He infers from it that Daniel was one of the greatest prophets, not like the objector, that he was no prophet at all.

Lastly it is objected, that the book of Daniel sets forth facts very imperfectly, and often contrary to other historical relations, and the whole is written in a dark and emblematical style, with images and symbols unlike the books of other prophets, and taken from the schools of the Greeks. As to Daniel's setting forth facts very imperfectly, he is perfect

* Τα γὰρ βιβλία, ὅσα δὴ συγγραψάμενος καταλοιπίς, ἀναγιγνωσκται παρ' ἡμῖν ἰσὶ καινῶν καὶ πιστευόμενα ἐξ αὐτοῦ, ὅτι Δανιήλος ἀμείλιτῳ Θεῷ. καὶ γὰρ τὰ μιλύοντα μόνον προφητῶν διτίλει, καθάπερ καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι προφῆται. ἀλλὰ καὶ καιρὸν ἀρίζει, οὗ ἐν ταῦτα ἀποδύεται. Libri enim quotquot a se conscriptos reliquit, leguntur hodieque apud nos: atque ii nobis fidem faciunt, Danielem cum Deo colloquia habuisse. Non enim futura solum, quemadmodum et alii vates, prædicere solebat, sed et tempus, quo hæc eventura erant, præfinivit. Joseph. lib. 10. Cap. 11. Sect. 7. p. 465. Edit. Hudson.

perfect enough for his design, which was not to write a history but prophecies, and history only so far as it relates to his prophecies. As to his writing contrary to other historical relations, it is false. For most of the main facts related by him are confirmed even by heathen historians : but if he contradicted them, yet he would deserve more credit, as he was more ancient than any of them, and lived in the times whereof he wrote. As to his emblems being unlike the books of other prophets, and taken from the schools of the Greeks, this is also false. For the like emblems are often used by other prophets, and are agreeable to the stile and genius of all the eastern writers of his time. They are so far from being taken from the schools of the Greeks, that on the contrary, if they were ever used by the Greeks, the Greeks borrowed them from the oriental writers. But after all how doth this last objection consist and agree with the fifth and tenth ? There *divers matters of fact were spoken of with the clearness of history*, and the author was convicted of forgery by *his uncommon punctuality*. Here *all is dark and emblematical, imperfect and contrary to other histories*. Such objections contradict and destroy one another. Both may be false, both cannot be true.

These objections being removed, what is there wanting of external or internal evidence to prove the genuineness and authenticity of the book of Daniel ? There is all the external evidence that can well be had or desired in a case of this nature ; not only the testimony of the whole Jewish church and nation, who have constantly received this book as canonical ; but of Josephus particularly, who commends him as the greatest of the prophets ; of the Jewish Targums and Talmuds, which frequently cite and appeal to his authority ; of St Paul and St John, who have copied many of his prophecies ; of our Saviour himself, who citeth his words, and stileth him ‘Daniel the prophet ;’ of ancient historians who relate many of the same transactions ; of the mother of the seven sons and of the father of the Maccabees, who both recommend the example of Daniel to their sons ; of old Eleazar in Egypt, who praying for the Jews then suffering under the persecution of Ptolemy Philopater, 3 Maec. vii. 6, 7. mentions the deliverance of Daniel out of the den of lions, together with the deliverance

deliverance of the three men out of the fiery furnace ; of the Jewish high-priest, who shewed Daniel's prophecies to Alexander the Great, while he was at Jerusalem ; and still higher, of Ezekiel, a contemporary writer, who greatly extols his *piety* and *wisdom*. Nor is the internal less powerful and convincing than the external evidence ; for the language, the stile, the manner of writing, and all other internal marks and characters are perfectly agreeable to that age ; and he appears plainly and undeniably to have been a prophet by the exact accomplishment of his prophecies, as well as those which have already been fulfilled, as those which are now fulfilling in the world.

The genuineness and authenticity of the book of Daniel being therefore established beyond all reasonable contradiction, we may now proceed in our main design : and the vision of the ram and he-goat, and the prophecy of the things noted in the scripture of truth, and the transactions of the kings of the north and the south, will find sufficient matter for our meditations this year. Another year will be fully employed on our Saviour's prophecies of the destruction of Jerusalem and the dispersion of the Jews, together with St Paul's prophecies of the Man of Sin ; and of the apostacy of the latter times. The last and most difficult task of all will be an analysis or explication of the Apocalyps or Revelation of St John. It is a hazardous attempt, in our little bark, to venture on that dangerous ocean, where so many stouter vessels and abler pilots have been shipwrecked and lost ; but possibly we may be the better able to sail through it, coming prepared, careened and sheathed as I may say for such a voyage. by the assistance of the former prophets, having particularly Daniel and St Paul as our pole-star and compass and begging withal of God's Holy Spirit to steer and direct our course. The conclusion will consist of reflections and inferences from the whole. In this manner, with the divine assistance, shall be employed the three years, which is the period usually allotted to these exercises ; and it is hoped that the design of the honourable founder will in some measure be answered by proving the truth of revelation from the truth of prophecy. It was indeed a noble design after a life spent in the study of philosophy, and equally devoted to the service of religion

ligion, to benefit posterity not only by his own useful and numerous writings, theological as well as philosophical, but also by engaging the thoughts and pens of others in defence of natural and revealed religion; and some of the best treatises on these subjects in the English language, or indeed in any language, are owing to his institution. This is continuing to do good even after death; and what was said of Abel's faith, may also be said of his, that 'by it he being dead, yet speaketh.'

From the instance of this excellent person, and some others who might be mentioned, it appears that there is nothing inconsistent in science and religion, but a great philosopher may be a good Christian. True philosophy is indeed the handmaid to true religion: and the knowledge of the works of nature will lead one to the knowledge of the God of nature, *the invisible things of him being clearly seen by the things which are made; even his eternal power and godhead.* They are only minute philosophers, who are sceptics and unbelievers. Smatterers in science, they are but smatterers in religion. Whereas the most eminent philosophers, those who have done honour to the nation, done honour to human nature itself, have also been believers and defenders of revelation, have studied scripture as well as nature, have searched after God in his word as well as in his works, and have even made comments on several parts of holy writ. So just and true is the observation of the * Lord Bacon, one of the illustrious persons here intended; "A little philosophy inclineth man's mind to atheism, but depth in philosophy bringeth man's minds about religion."

XV.

DANIEL'S vision of the RAM and HE-GOAT.

HITHERTO the prophecies of Daniel, that is from the fourth verse of the second chapter to the eighth chapter, are written in Chaldee. As they greatly concerned the Chaldeans, so they were published in that language. But the remaining prophecies are written in Hebrew, because they treat altogether of affairs subsequent

quent to the times of the Chaldeans, and no ways relate to them, but principally to the church and people of God. Which is a plain proof, that the scriptures were originally written in such a manner as they might be best understood by the people : and consequently it is defeating the very end and design of writing them, to ' take away the key of knowledge,' and to keep them locked up in an unknown tongue. We may observe too that in the former part of the book of Daniel he is generally spoken of in the third person, but in the latter part he speaketh of himself in the first person, which is some kind of proof that this part was written by himself if the other was not, but probably this diversity might arise from the different dates, the one being written some time after the other.

Daniel's former vision of the four great beasts, representing the four great empires of the world, was, vii. 1. ' in the first year of Belshazzar king of Babylon.' He had another vision in the *third* year of the reign of the same king Belshazzar, that is * about 553 years before Christ, viii. 1. ' In the third year of the reign of king Belshazzar, a vision appeared unto me, even unto me Daniel, after that which appeared unto me, at the first.' It was exhibited to him, ver. 2. at the palace in Shushan, and by the side of the river *Ulai* or *Eulaus*, as it is called by the Greeks and Romans. ' And I saw in a vision, (and it came to pass when I saw, that I was at Shushan in the palace, which is in the province of Elam) and I saw in a vision, and I was by the river Ulai.' So likewise the prophet Ezekiel saw visions by the river Chebar; as if the Holy Spirit had delighted to manifest himself in such retired scenes; and the gifts and graces of the Spirit are often in scripture-language described by the metaphors of springs and streams of water, than which nothing was more agreeable and refreshing in hot and dry countries.

Such was the time and place of the vision. The vision itself was of a ram and he-goat. And we may observe with the learned † Bochart, that others also have had like

* See Usher, Prideaux, and other chronologers.

† Observevimus etiam aliis apparuisse visiones hujusmodi. quæ futura portenderent. Na. Plutarcho teste in vita Syllæ, *In Campania, circa Tibatun montem* (qui aliis Tifata) *interdum visi sunt configeri magni. birci duo, et ea omnia facere et pati, quæ visi in pugna solent.* Spectrum

like visions, portending future events. So Plutarch reports in the life of Sylla, that two great goats were seen fighting in Campania, and suddenly the vision vanished : not long afterwards in that very place Sylla having routed and slain seven thousand men, besieged the consul in Capua. In the Brutus of Accius, which is cited by Cicero in his first book of Divination, Tarquinius Superbus relates his dream, " that a shepherd drove his flock to him ; two rams of the same breed were selected from thence, both choice and beautiful, and he killed the finer of them ; the other rushed upon him with his horns, and cast him down and wounded him." These rams of the same breed signified Lucius Junius Brutus and his brother ; one of whom was slain by Tarquin, and the other rose against Tarquin, and despoiled him of his kingdom. So that the probabilities of the poets and historians bear some resemblance to the realities of holy writ. Or rather, in this instance of prophecy, as in the ceremonies of religion and the modes of government, God was pleased to condescend and conform to the customs and manners of the age, to make thereby a stronger impression on the minds of the people. Nor is such a condescension unworthy of the deity, nor unsuitable to the other methods of his providence, but is rather an argument of his infinite goodness.

In the former vision there appeared four beasts, because there four empires were represented : but here are

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only

trum autem e terra sensim elatum, paulo post dissipatum, et ex oculis elapsum, est. Nec multo post Sylla, Mario Juniore et Norbano consule, in eo ipso loco fuis, et prostratis, et caesis hominum septem milibus, consulem inclusit Capuæ. Et in Acci Bruto, qui a Cicerone citatur libro primo De Divinatione, Tarquinius superbus suum hoc somnium narrat.

Visum est in somnis pastorem ad me appellere

Pecus lanigerum eximia pulchritudine,

Duos consanguineos arietes inde eligi,

Præclarrioremque alterum immolare me :

Deinde ejus germanum cornibus connitier

In me arietare, eoque me ad casum dari :

Exin prostratum terra graviter saucium,

Resupinum, in cælo contueri maximum, &c.

Hi arietes consanguinei L. Junium Brutum, et fratrem ejus a Tarquinio casum significabant ; quorum ille, in Tarquinium insurgens, cum regno suo spoliavit. Bocharti Microzoic. Para Prior. Lib. 1. Cap. 46. Col. 527.

only two, because here we have a representation of what was transacted chiefly within two empires. The first of the four empires, that is the Babylonian, is wholly omitted here, for its fate was sufficiently known, and it was now drawing very near to a conclusion. The second empire in the former vision, is the first in this; and what was there compared to a bear, is here prefigured by a ram. 'Then I lifted up mine eyes,' saith Daniel, ver. 3. 'and saw, and behold, there stood before the river, a ram which had two horns, and the two horns were high; but one was higher than the other, and the higher came up last.' This ram with two horns, according to the explication of the angel Gabriel, was the empire of the Medes and Persians; ver. 20. 'The ram which thou sawest having two horns, are the kings' or kingdoms 'of Media and Persia.' The source of this figure of *horns* for *kingdoms*, as a * learned writer observes, must be derived from the oriental languages, in which the same word signifies a *horn*, and a *crown*, and *power*, and *splendour*. Whence a *horn* was an ensign of royalty among the Phœnicians, and the Hebrew word קרן *keren* or a *horn*, is several times by the Chaldee paraphrasts rendered מלכותא *malcutha* or a *kingdom*: and *horns* are frequently used for *kings* and *kingdoms* in the Old Testament. This empire therefore, which was formed by the conjunction of the Medes and Persians, and is often called the Medo-Persian, was not unfitly represented by a ram *with two horns*. Cyrus, the founder of this empire, was † son of Cambyses king of Persia, and by his mother Mandane was grandson of Astyages king of Media; and afterwards marrying the daughter and only child of his uncle Cyaxares king of Media, he succeeded to both crowns, and united the kingdoms of Media and Persia. It was a coalition of two very formidable powers, and therefore it is said that 'the two horns were high: but one,' it is added, 'was higher
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* Quam melius itaque ex linguis orientis potuisset hujus rei sons crui? quibus, ut id est jam contritum, eadem voce *cornu*, *corona*, *potentia*, ac *splendor* noncupantur. Unde *cornu*, regium insigne apud Phœnices, et Hebræorum קרן seu *cornu* Chaldaeis interpretibus aliquoties מלכותא seu *regnum* redditur, ut vidit illustris Grotius; et *cornu* pro *regno* et *regibus* passim in veteri foedere. Spanheim de Usu Numismatum. Vol. 1. Diss. 7. p. 400.

† Xenoph. Cyropaed. Lib. 1. et 8.

er than the other, and the higher came up last.' The kingdom of Media was the more ancient of the two, and more famous in history; Persia was of little note or account till the time of Cyrus: but under Cyrus the Persians gained and maintained the ascendant; some * authors say that Cyrus subdued the king of the Medes by force of arms: and his † son Cambyfes on his death-bed earnestly exhorted the Persians not to suffer the kingdom to return again to the Medes. But a question still remains, why that empire, which was before likened to a *bear* for its cruelty, should now be represented by a *ram*? Mr Mede's conjecture is ingenious and plausible enough, ‡ that the Hebrew word for a *ram*, and the Hebrew word for *Persia*, both springing from the same root, and both implying something of strength, the one is not improperly made the type of the other. The propriety of it farther appears from hence as is suggested likewise by another writer in the general preface to Mr Mede's works, that it was usual for the king of Persia to wear a ram's head made of gold, and adorned with precious stones, instead of a diadem; for so § Amminus Marcellinus describes him. Bishop Chandler and others farther § observe, that "rams heads with horns, one higher and the other lower, are still to be seen on the pillars at Persepolis."

The great exploits of the ram are recapitulated in the next verse, ver. 4. 'I saw the ram pushing westward, and northward, and southward, so that no beasts might stand before him, neither was there any that could deli-

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ver

* Herod. Lib. 1. Sect. 130. p. 56. Edit. Gale. Strabo Lib. 15. p. 730. Edit. Paris 1620. p. 1062. Edit. Amstel. 1707. Justin. Lib. 1. Cap. 6.

† Herod. Lib. 3. Sect. 65. p. 188. Edit. Gale.

‡ —quis suspicari possit etiam arietis de rege Persarum in eadem visionetypum, adnominesElam (quod alterum duorum est quo regens appellatur significatum alludere. אֵיל enim Hebræis) unde nomen אֵיל aries et אֵיל atque אֵיל Chaldaeis, idem significant, nempe fortem seu robustum esse. Forte igitur אֵיל Elam istis, at illis אֵיל arietem sonabat, indeque rex Elam hoc typo Danieli figuratur. Mede's Works, B. 3. Co. m. Apoc. p. 474.

§ — autem capitis arietini signmentum interstinctum laillpis pro diademate gestans. Amm. Marcell. Lib. 19. Cap. 1. p. 208. Edit. Valefii. Paris 1681.

§ Bp Chandler's Vindication, Chap. 1. Sect. 4. p. 154. Arie item bicornis in rudera Persepoleos. Wetstia in Rev. xiii. 11.

ver out of his hand, but he did according to his will, and became great.' Under Cyrus himself, the Persians pushed their conquests *westward* * as far as the *Ægean* sea and the bounds of Asia: *northward* they subdued † the Armenians, Cappadocians, and various other nations: *southward* they conquered Egypt, if not under Cyrus as ‡ Xenophon affirms, yet most certainly under § Cambyſes, the son and ſucceſſor of Cyrus. Under Darius they subdued ¶ India, but in the prophecy no mention is made of their conquests in the *east*, becauſe thoſe countries lay very remote from the Jews and were of little concern or conſequence to them. The ram was ſtrong and powerful, 'ſo that no beaſts might ſtand before him neither was there any that could deliver out of his hand;' that is none of the neighbouring kingdoms were able to contend with the Perſians, but all fell under their dominion. 'He did according to his will and became great;' and the Perſian empire was increaſed and enlarged to ſuch a degree, that it extended, Eſther i. 1. 'from India even unto Ethiopia, over an hundred and ſeven and twenty provinces;' ſo that ſeven provinces were added to the hundred and twenty, Dan. vi. 1. which it contained in the time of Cyrus.

After the ram the he-goat appears next upon the ſcene. 'And as I was conſidering,' ſaith Daniel, ver. 5. 'behold, an he-goat came from the weſt on the face of the whole earth, and touched not the ground: and the goat had a notable horn between his eyes.' Which is thus interpreted by the angel Gabriel, ver 21. The rough goat is the king of Grecia, and the great horn that is between his eyes, is the firſt king, or kingdom. A goat is very properly made the type of the Grecian, or Macedonian empire, becauſe the Macedonians at firſt, about two hundred years before Daniel, were denominated *Ægeade* or *the goat's people*. And upon this occaſion, as heathen authors report, Caranus, their firſt king, going with a great multitude of Greeks to ſeek new habitations in Macedonia, was commanded by the oracle to take the goats
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* Herod. Lib. 1. Xenophon. Cyropæd. Lib. 7.

† Xenophon ibid. Lib. 3. et 7.

‡ Xenophon ibid. Lib. 1. et 8.

§ Herod. Lib. 3.

¶ Herod. Lib. 3. Cap 4 . p. 239 Edit. Gale.

for his guides to empire : and afterwards seeing a herd of goats flying from a violent storm, he followed them to Edeffa and there fixed the seat of his empire, made the goats his ensigns or standards, and called the city *Æge* or *the goat's town*, and the people *Ægeada* or *the goat's people*. This observation is likewise owing to the most excellent Mr Mede * : and to this may be added that the city *Ægeæ* or *Ægæ* was the † usual burying-place of the Macedonian kings. It is also very remarkable, that Alexander's son by Roxana was named Alexander *Ægus*, or *the son of the goat* ; and ‡ some of Alexander's successors are represented in their coins with *goat's horns*. This he-goat ' came from the west : ' and who is ignorant that Europe lieth westward of Asia ? He came ' on the face of the whole earth, ' carrying every thing before him in all the three parts of the world then known : ' and he touched not the ground, ' his marches were so swift and his conquests so rapid, that he might be said in a manner to fly over the ground without touching it. For the same reason the same empire in the former vision was likened to ' a leopard which is a swift nimble animal, and to denote the greater quickness and impetuosity, to ' a leopard with four wings. And the goat had a notable horn between his eyes ; this horn saith the angel, ' is the first king, '

* Nec deesse videtur hujusmodi allusionis exemplum apud Danielem, cap. 8. ubi Macedones, qui tunc temporis *Ægeades* (hoc est, *Caprim*) dicebantur, typo *caprarum*, rexque hirci figura designatur ut *Ecce* inquit, *hircus caprarum* (id est, caprarum maritus) *venit ab occidente, &c.* Innuit autem Alexandrum magnum, *Ægeadum* regem. Illi Macedones sunt. Ita enim gens ista vocabatur qua prima regni sedes erat, a Carano conditore, ducentis plus minus ante Danielem annis. Occasionem nominis ex Trogo refert epitomator Justinus. Lib. 7. cujus verba ascribere non gravabor. " Caranus, inquit, cum magna multitudine Græcorum, sedes in Macedonia responso oraculi jussus quærere, cum in Emathiam venisset, urbem Edeffum non sentientibus oppidanis propter imbrum et nebulæ magnitudinem, gregem caprarum imbrem fugientium secutus, occupavit ; revocatusque in memoriam oraculi, quo jussus erat ducibus capris imperium quærere, regni sedem statuit ; religiosæque postea observavit, quocunque agmen moveret, ante signa easdem capras habere, captorum duces habiturus quas regni habuerat authores. Urbem Edeffem ob memoriam muneris *Egeas* populum *Egeadas* vocavit." Vide cætera Mede's Works. Book 3. Com. Apoc. p. 473, 474.

† Plin. Lib. 4. Cap. 10. Sect. 17. p. 200. Edit. Harduin. Vide etiam notas Harduini.

‡ Spanheim de Ufa Numismatum. Vol. 1. Dissert. 7. p. 39, et 399.

king,' or kingdom of the Greeks in Asia, which was ~~settled~~ by Alexander the Great, and continued for some years in his brother Philip Aridæus, and his two young sons Alexander Ægus and Hercules. Dean Prideaux, speaking of the swiftness of Alexander's marches, hath a † passage which is very pertinent to the present purpose. "He flew with victory swifter than others can travel, often with his horse pursuing his enemies upon the spur whole days and nights, and sometimes making long marches for several days one after the other, as once he did in pursuit of Darius of near forty miles a day for eleven days together. So that by the speed of his marches he came upon his enemy before they were aware of him and conquered them before they could be in a posture to resist him. Which exactly agreeth with the description given of him in the prophecies of Daniel some ages before, he being in them set forth under the similitude of a panther or leopard with four wings : for he was impetuous and fierce in his warlike expeditions, as a panther after its prey, and came on upon his enemies with that speed, as if he flew with a double pair of wings. And to this purpose he is in another place of those prophecies compared to an he-goat coming from the west with that swiftness upon the king of Media and Persia, that he seemed as if his feet did not touch the ground. And his actions, as well in this comparison as in the former, fully verified the prophecy."

In the two next verses we have an account of the Grecians overthrowing the Persian empire, ver. 6, 7. 'And he came to the ram that had two horns, which I had seen standing before the river, and ran unto him in the fury of his power. And I saw him come close unto the ram, and he was moved with choler against him, and smote the ram, and brake his two horns, and there was no power in the ram to stand before him, but he cast him down to the ground, and stamped upon him ; and there was none that could deliver the ram out of his hand. The ram had before *pushed westward*, and the Persians in the ‡ reigns of Darius Hytaspis and Xerxes had poured down with great armies into Greece ; but now the Gre-

cians

† Prideaux. Connect. Part 1. Book 8. Ann. 330. Alexander 2.

‡ Herod. Lib. 6. c. 7.

clans in return carried their arms into Asia, and the he-goat invaded the ram that had invaded him. 'And he came to the ram that had two horns, which I had seen standing before the river, and ran unto him in the fury of his power.' One can hardly read these words without having some image of Darius's army standing and guarding the river * Granicus, and of Alexander on the other side with his forces plunging in, swimming across the stream, and rushing on the enemy with all the fire and fury that can be imagined. It was certainly a strange rash mad attempt with only about thirty-five thousand men to attack, at such disadvantage, an army of more than five times the number: but he was successful in it, and this success diffused a terror of his name, and opened his way to the conquest of Asia. 'And I saw him close unto the ram: he had several close engagements or set battles with the king of Persia, and particularly at the river Granicus in Phrygia, at the straits of Issus in Cilicia, and in the plains of Arbela in Assyria. 'And was moved with choler against him,' for † the cruelties which the Persians had exercised towards the Grecians: and for ‡ Darius's attempting to corrupt sometimes his soldiers to betray him, and sometimes his friends to destroy him; so that he would not listen to the most advantageous offers of peace, but determined to pursue the Persian king, not as a generous and noble enemy, but as a poisoner and murderer, to the death that he deserved, 'And he smote the ram, and brake his two horns:' he subdued Persia and Media with other provinces and kingdoms of the Persian empire; and it is memorable, that in || Persia he barbarously sacked and burned the royal city of Persepolis, the capital of the empire; and in ¶ Media, Darius was seized and made prisoner by some of his own traitor subjects,

* Arrian. de exped. Alex. Lib. 1. Cap. 14, &c. Sic Granicum, tot millibus equitum peditumque in ulteriore stantibus ripa, superavit. Quint. Curt. Lib. 4. Cap. 9.

† Diod. Sic. Lib. 17. p. 599. Edit. Seph. p. 543. Tom. 2. Edit. Rhod. Quint. Curt. Lib. 5. Cap. 6.

‡ Quint. Curt. Lib. 4. Cap. 11. Verum enimvero, quum modo milites meos litteris ad prodicionem, modo amicos ad perniciem meam pecunia sollicitet; ad internecionem mihi persequendus est, non ut justus hostis, sed ut percussor veneticus

|| Diod. Sic. Lib. 17. ibid. Quint. Curt. Lib. 5. Cap. 6. et 7.

¶ Quint. Curt. Lib. 5. Cap. 8, &c.

subject, who not long afterwards basely murdered him. 'And there was no power in the ram to stand before him, but he cast him down to the ground, and stamped upon him,' he conquered wherever he came, routed all the forces took all the cities and castles, and entirely subverted and ruined the Persian empire. 'And there was none that could deliver the ram out of his hand; not even his numerous armies could defend the king of Persia; though his forces, * in the battle of Issus amounted to six hundred thousand men, and † in that of Arbela to ten or eleven hundred thousand, whereas the ‡ whole number of Alexander's was not more than forty seven thousand in either engagement. So true is the prediction of the Psalmist, xxxiii. 16. 'There is no king saved by the multitude of a host' and especially when God hath decreed the fall of empires, that even the most mighty fall. The fortune of Alexander, of which to me hath been said, || Plutarch hath written a whole treatise about it, the fortune of Alexander, I say, was nothing but the providence of God.

When Alexander was at Jerusalem, these prophecies were shewn to him by the high-priest, according to the relation of Josephus. For while Alexander lay at the siege of Tyre, he sent to Jaddua the high priest at Jerusalem to demand provisions for his army, and the tribute that was annually paid to Darius. But the high-priest refused to comply with these demands by reason of his oath of allegiance to the king of Persia. Alexander therefore in great rage vowed to revenge himself upon the Jews: and as soon as he had taken Tyre and Gaza, he marched against Jerusalem. The high priest in this imminent danger had recourse to God by sacrifices and supplications: and as he was directed in a vision of the night, he went forth the next day in his pontifical robes, with all the priests in their proper habits, and the people in white apparel,

* Arrian de Exped. Alex Lib 2 Cap 8. p. 73 Edit Gronov. Plutarch in Alex p 67 Edit Paris 1624

† Plutarch in Alex p 682. ibid Diod Sic Lib 17. p 590. Edit. Steph p. 530 tom. 2. Edit Rhod Arrian Lib 3 Cap 8. p. 115.

‡ Polyb Lib 12 Arrian Lib 3. Cap. 12 p. 122 Edit. Gronov.

|| Περὶ τῆς Ἀλεξάνδρου τύχης

¶ Joseph. Antiq Lib 11 Cap 8.

to meet the conqueror, and to make their submissions to him. As soon as the king saw the high-priest coming to him in this solemn procession, he advanced eagerly to meet him, and bowing down himself before him, received him with religious awe and veneration. All present were astonished at this behaviour of the king, so contrary to their expectation : and Parmenio in particular demanded the reason of it, why he whom all others adored, should pay such adoration to the Jewish high-priest. Alexander replied, that he payed not this adoration to him, but to that God whose priest he was ; for while he was at Dio in Macedonia, and was meditating upon his expedition against the king of Persia, there appeared unto him in a dream this very man, and in this very habit, inviting him to come over into Asia, and promising him success in the conquest of it : and now he was assured that he had set out upon this expedition under the conduct of God, to whom therefore he paid this adoration in the person of his high-priest. Hereupon he entered Jerusalem in peace, and went up and offered sacrifices to God in the temple, where the high-priest produced and laid before him the prophecies of Daniel, wherein it was written that a king of Grecia should overthrow the Persian empire, which he interpreted of himself. After this he granted peculiar privileges to the Jews, and proceeded in his expedition with full confidence and assurance of success.

Some persons have rejected this account as fabulous, particularly † Van Dale, Mr Moyle, and Collins, who say, that it is “ an entire fiction unsupported, and inconsistent with history and chronology, and romantic in its circumstances.” But || Bishop Llyod, Dean Prideaux, Bishop Chandler and others, have sufficiently vindicated the truth of the story. Even Bale himself, who was never thought to be over-credulous, admits the fact : and it must be said, though some things are extraordinary, yet there is nothing incredible in the whole relation. Alexander

† Van Dale Dissert. super. ArisTEAM, Chap. 10. Moyle's Letters to Prideaux, p 26, &c. Vol. 2. Collins's. Scheme of literal prophecy, p 2.

|| Bishop Lloyd's Letter to Dr Sherlock. Prideaux Connect. and answers to Mr Moyle Bp. Chandler's Vindication of his Defence, Chap. 2. Sect. 2. p. 176, &c. Mr Samuel Chandler's Vindication of Daniel, p. 76, &c. Bayle's Dict. Art. MACED. Not. O.

Alexander lay seven months at the siege of Tyre: in that time he might well want provisions for his army; and it is no wonder that he should send for some to Judea, when the Tyrians themselves used to be supplied from thence, 1 Kings v. 9, 11. Ezekiel xxvii. 17. Acts xii. 20. The fidelity of the Jews to Darius, and their regard to their oath was nothing more than they practised upon other occasions; for the same reason * they would not submit to Ptolemy, having taken an oath to another governor: and Ptolemy afterwards rewarded them for it in Egypt, and † committed the most important garrisons and places of trust to their keeping, thinking that he might safely rely upon them, who had proved themselves so steady and faithful to their former princes and governors, and particularly to Darius king of Persia. That Alexander was in Judea, I think we may collect from other authors. Arrian says, ‡ that he subdued all that part of Syria which was called Palestine. Pliny affirms, § that the balsam-tree, which grew only in Judea, was cut and bled a certain quantity in a day, while Alexander was waging war in those parts. Justin informs ¶ us that he went into Syria, where many princes of the east met him with their mitres; upon which passage the note of Isaac Vossius is very just and pertinent, ¶ “ I think that Justin had respect to that memorable history, which Josephus relates of Jaddua the high-priest of the Jews.” If Alexander therefore came into Judea, as he certainly did, it was prudent in the Jews, though they refused to succour him at a distance, yet to submit to him upon his nearer approach: it was in vain to withstand the conqueror, and the terror of his name was now become very

* Joseph. Antiq. Lib. 12. Cap. 1. p. 507. Edit. Hudson.

† Joseph. ib. et contra Apion Lib. 2. Sect. 4. p. 1363. Edit. Hud.

‡ Arrian de Exped. Alex. Lib. 2. Cap. 25. p. 101. Edit. Gronov. *Και ην αυτη τα μιν αλλα την Παλαιστίνης καλημηνης Συρίας προσηχωρηνοτα ηδη*, Et cætera quidem Syriae, quæ Palestina vocatur, oppida in suam potestatem adduxerat.

§ Plin. Nat. Hist. Lib. 12. Cap. 25. Sect. 34. Edit. Harduin Alexandro magno res ibi gerente, toti die æstivo unam concham impleri iustum erat.

¶ Tunc in Syriam proficiscitur, ubi obvius cum insulis multos orientis reges habuit Justin Hist. Lib. 11. Cap. 10. Sect. 6. Edit. Grævii.

¶ Puto respicere, Justinum ad memorabilem illam historiam, quæ Josephus de Jaddo, summo Judæorum sacerdote, narrat.

very great by his victories, and especially after the dreadful execution that he had made at Tyre and at Gaza. While Alexander was at Jerusalem, it was natural enough for the high-priest to shew him the prophecies of a king of Grecia overcoming the king of Persia. Nothing could be devised more likely to engage his attention, to confirm his hopes, and to conciliate his favour to the whole nation. And for his sacrificing in the temple, it is no more than * other heathen princes have done, it is no more than he did in other places. He might perhaps consider God as a local deity, and offer sacrifices to him at Jerusalem, as he did to Hercules at Tyre, and to Jupiter Hammon in Egypt, and to Belus in Babylon.

What are then the great objections to the credibility of this story? It is pretended, that it is inconsistent with chronology; for Josephus places this event after the sieges of Tyre and of Gaza, whereas † all historians agree that Alexander went directly from Gaza to Egypt in seven days. But the best historians do not always relate facts in exact order of time, as they happened; they connect things of a sort together, and often mention later occurrences first, reserving what they think more important for the last place; and such possibly might be the intention of Josephus. Eusebius affirms, that ‡ Alexander went after the siege of Tyre immediately to Jerusalem; and he might have good authority for affirming so, living as he did in Palestine; and with him agree Usher, Prideaux, and the best chronologers. And indeed it is most probable, that Alexander's progress was from Tyre to Jerusalem, and from Jerusalem to Gaza; because his resentment of the affront that he had received was then fresher in his mind, and Jerusalem lay not much out of the way from Tyre to Gaza, and it was not likely that he should leave a place of such strength and importance untaken behind him. But if Josephus was mistaken about two months in point of time, yet such a mistake is not sufficient to shake the credit of his whole relation.

VOL. II.

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* Joseph. contra Apion. Lib. 2. Sect. 5. p. 1365. Edit. Hudson.
2 Maccab. XIII. 23.

† Diod. Sic. Lib. 7. Quint. Curt. Lib. 4. Arrian. Lib. 3. Plutarch in Alex.

‡ Eusebii Chron. Usher's Annals, p. 214, 215. Prideaux

• Part 1. Book 7. Anno 332. Darius

What historian is there almost who hath not fallen into a mistake of the like kind? And yet after all Josephus might not be mistaken, for Alexander might march against Jerusalem from Gaza, either during the siege, or after it. Arrian informs us, * that while the siege of Tyre was carrying on, and the machines and ships were building, Alexander with some troops of horse and other forces went into Arabia, and having reduced that part of the country to his obedience partly by force, and partly by treaty, he returned to the camp in eleven days: and why might he not make such an excursion from Gaza for a few days, during the two months that his army was besieging it? or after he had taken the city why might he not with part of the army go to Jerusalem, and leave the other part to rest themselves at Gaza? Jerusalem lay at no very great distance from Gaza, and a person of Alexander's expedition might go and return within a very few days. The historians say indeed, that he came into Egypt in seven days after he departed from Gaza; but none of them say how long he stayed at Gaza, to refresh his army after the siege. We know from † Diodorus, that he stayed long enough to settle the affairs of the country about Gaza; and why might he not in that time make this visit to Jerusalem?

Another objection is taken from the silence of authors, who would hardly have passed over so memorable a transaction, if there had been any truth in it: but it is not so much as mentioned by any of the heathen historians; it is supported entirely by the testimony of Josephus. But if we reject all relations, which rest upon the credit of a single historian, ancient history will be shrunk into a very narrow compass. There were numerous writers of the life and actions of Alexander, who were his companions in the wars, or lived in or near his time, as Ptolemy, Aristobulus, and others: but none of their writings have been transmitted down to us: they have all been swallowed up in the gulf between that time and this; and who can be certain that some of them did not record this transaction? It must have been mentioned by some ancient

* Arrian. de Exped. Alex. Lib. 2. Cap. 20. p. 94. Edit. Gronov.
 † Diod. Sic. Lib. 17. p. 388. Edit. Steph. p. 325. Tom. 2. Edit.

of history; for we see that Justin in a short abridgement of history is thought to have alluded to it; and some other author might have related it at large in all its circumstances. The most copious writers now extant of Alexander's affairs, are Diodorus Siculus, Quintus Curtius, Arrian, and Plutarch; but the eldest of these lived some centuries after Alexander, so that they must have transcribed from former historians: and they have transcribed variously, as suited their particular purpose; what one hath inserted, another hath omitted: and not two of them have related things exactly alike. There are actions and sayings of Alexander, which are omitted by them all, but yet are preserved by other authors: and no wonder then, that with the common prejudice of Greeks and Romans, they should omit some particulars of so remote and incredible a people as the Jews. The affairs of each province were best related by the writers of each province. A Jew was most likely to record the particulars concerning the Jews. And Josephus, though he may have been somewhat tedious in some respects, yet was never charged with want of history. His credit as an historian, with upon examination, he found equal almost to the very best. Joseph Scaliger, who was an exceeding good judge in matters of this nature, * giveth him the character of a most faithful, a most diligent, and a most learned writer; of whom, saith he, we may boldly affirm, that not only in Jewish, but likewise in foreign affairs, we may more safely rely on his credit, than on all the Greek and Latin historians together.

There remains then no difficulty that can really stick with us, unless it be the particular interposition of God in this affair, and the prophetic dreams of Alexander and the high-priest. These things, it must be confessed, are wonderful: but if we recollect the miraculous interpositions of God in favour of his people; if we reflect what a particular providence attended Alexander, and conducted him to conquest and empire; if we consider the clear and express prophecies concerning him; these things though

D 2

wonderful,

* Josephus, *fidissimus, diligentissimus, et eruditissimus scriptor*. Scal. in notis ad Fragmenta. Græc. p. 45. De Josepho nos hoc audacter dicimus, non solum in rebus Judaicis, sed etiam in externis tutius illi credi, quam omnibus Græcis et Latinis: in *Reglem de Remendatione Temporum* p. 12.

wonderful, may yet easily be reconciled to our belief, and will appear perfectly consistent with the other dispensations of divine providence. Admitting the truth of the prophecies, we cannot think these extraordinary circumstances at all incredible. These extraordinary circumstances are alledged to confirm the prophecies; and if the prophecies be found mutually to confirm these extraordinary circumstances, this is so far from weakening that it strengthens the argument. Indeed, without the supposition of the truth of these circumstances, it will be extremely difficult to account for Alexander's granting so many privileges and favours to the Jews. He * allowed them the free exercise of their religion; he exempted their land from tribute every seventh, or the sabbatical year; he settled many of them at Alexandria with privileges and immunities equal to those of the Macedonians themselves; and when the Samaritans had revolted, and murdered the governor whom he had set over them, he assigned their country to the Jews, and exempted it in the same manner as Judea from tribute, † Josephus having proved from Alexander's own letters, and from the testimony of Hecataeus, a heathen historian. But what were the merits and services of the Jews, that they should be so favoured and distinguished above other people? There is no way of accounting for it so probable, as by admitting the truth of this relation. With this all appears natural and easy, and is utterly inexplicable without it.

But to return from this digression, if it may be called a digression, to consider a point of history, that is so nearly related to our subject. Nothing is fixed and stable in human affairs; and the empire of the goat, though exceeding great, was perhaps for that reason the sooner broken into pieces, ver. 8. 'Therefore the he-goat waxed very great, and when he was strong, the great horn was broken; and for it came up four notable ones, toward the four winds of heaven.' Which the angel thus interprets, ver. 22. 'Now that being broken, whereas four stood up for it, four kingdoms shall stand up out of the nation, but not in his power.' The empire of the goat

* Joseph. Antiq. Lib. 11. Cap. 5. Sect. 5. p. 304 Edit. Hudson.

† Joseph. contra Apion. Lib. 2. Sect. 4 p. 1364, 1365. Ed. Hud.

goat was in its full strength, when Alexander died of a fever at Babylon. He was succeeded in the throne by his natural brother Philip Arridæus, and by his own two sons Alexander Aëgeus and Hercules : but in the space of * about fifteen years they were all murdered, and then the first horn or kingdom was entirely broken. The royal family being thus extinct, the † governors of provinces, who had usurped the power, assumed the title of kings : and by the defeat and death of Antigonus in the battle of Ipsus, they were reduced to ‡ four, Cassander, Lyfimachus, Ptolemy, and Seleucus, who parted Alexander's dominions between them, and divided and settled them into four kingdoms. These four kingdoms are the '*four notable horns*,' which came up in the room of the first great horn ; and are the same as the '*four heads of the leopard*' in the former vision. '*Four kingdoms shall stand up out of the nation, but not in his power ;*' they were to be kingdoms of Greeks, not of Alexander's own family, but only of his nation ; and neither were they to be equal to him in power and dominion, as an empire united is certainly more powerful than the same empire divided, and the whole is greater than any of the parts. They were likewise to extend '*toward the four winds of heaven :*' and in the partition of the empire, Cassander held Macedon, and Greece, and the *western* parts ; Lyfimachus had Thrace, Bithynia and the *northern* regions ; Ptolemy possessed Egypt, and the *southern* countries ; and Seleucus obtained Syria and the *eastern* provinces. Thus were they divided '*toward the four winds of heaven.*'

As in the former vision a little horn sprang up among the ten horns of the Roman empire, so here a little horn is described as rising among the four horns of the Grecian empire, ver. 9, 10, 11, 12. '*And out of one of them came forth a little horn, which waxed exceeding great,*

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toward

* See Usher, Prideaux and the Chronologers.

† Diod. Sic. Lib. 20. Justin. Lib. 15. Cap. 2. Hujus honoris ornamenta tamdiu omnes abstinuerunt, quamdiu filii regis sui superesse potuerunt. Tanta in illis verecundia fuit, ut cum opes regias haberent, regum tamen nominibus aequo animo caruerint, quoad Alexandro iustus haeres fuit.

‡ Diod. Sic. Lib. 20. Polyb. Lib. 5. p. 410. Edit. Casaubon. Plurarch in Demetrio.

§ Dioc. Sic. ibid. Prideaux. Connect. part 1. B. 3. Ann. 304.

• Ptolemy Soter 4.

toward the south, and toward the east, and toward the pleasant land. And it waxed great even to the host of heaven, and it cast down some of the host and of the stars to the ground, and stamped upon them. Yea, he magnified himself even to the prince of the host, and by him the daily sacrifice was taken away, and the place of his sanctuary was cast down. And an host was given him against the daily sacrifice by reason of transgression, and it cast down the truth to the ground, and it practised and prospered. All which is thus explained by the angel: ver. 23, 24, 25. ‘And in the latter time of their kingdom, when the transgressors are come to the full, a king of fierce countenance, and understanding dark sentences, shall stand up. And his power shall be mighty, but not by his own power: and he shall destroy wonderfully, and shall prosper and practise, and shall destroy the mighty and the holy people. And through his policy also he shall cause craft to prosper in his hand, and he shall magnify himself in his heart, and by peace shall destroy many: he shall also stand up against the prince of princes, but he shall be broken without hand.’ This little horn is by the generality of interpreters both Jewish and Christian, ancient and modern, supposed to mean Antiochus Epiphanes, king of Syria, who was a great enemy and cruel persecutor of the Jews. So * Josephus understood the prophecy, and says that “our nation suffered these calamities under Antiochus Epiphanes, as Daniel saw, and many years before wrote what things should come to pass.” In like manner † St Jerome explains it of Antiochus Epiphanes, and says, that “he fought against Ptolemy Philometor and the Egyptians, that is *against the south*; and again *against the east*, and those who

* Joseph. Antiq. lib. 10. Cap. 11. Sect. 7. Καὶ ἐν ἑσπέρῃ μου ὡς ἡλὴν ἐπὶ τοὺς οὐρανούς· ὅτε Ἀντίοχος τὸν Ἐπιφανέως, καθὼς εἶδεν ὁ Δανιήλ, καὶ πολλοὶ ἐποιοῦντες ἐπὶ αὐτῷ τὰ γινόμενα. Lt sane factum est ut hæc ipsa sub Antiocho Epiphane gens nostra pateretur prout viderat Danielus et multis ante annis quæ ventura erant scriptis mandaverat. p. 466. Edit. Hudson.

† Hieron. in Dan. Cap. 8.—contra Ptolemæum Philometorem dimicavit, hoc est, *contra meridiem*, et contra *Ægyptios*. Rursumque *ad orientem*, et contra eos qui res novas in Perside moliebantur: ad extremum contra Judæos dimicans, capta Judæa, ingressus est Jerusalem, et in templo Dei simulacrum Jovis Olympii statuit. Col. 1. 10. Edit. Benedict.

who attempted a change of government in Persia; and lastly, he fought against the Jews, took Judæa, entered into Jerusalem, and in the temple of God set up the image of Jupiter Olympius." With St Jerome agree most of the ancient fathers, and modern divines and commentators: but when they all allow that Antiochus Epiphanes was a type of Antichrist. Antiochus Epiphanes at first sight doth indeed in some features very much resemble the *little horn*; but upon a nearer view and examination it will evidently appear, that in other parts there is no manner of similitude or correspondence between them. Sir Isaac Newton with that sagacity, which was peculiar to him, and with which he penetrated into scripture as well as into nature, * perceived plainly that the *little horn* could not be drawn for Antiochus Epiphanes, but must be designed for some other subject. and though we shall not entirely follow his plan, nor build altogether upon his foundation, yet we shall be obliged to make use of several of his material. There are then two ways of expounding this prophecy of the *little horn*, either by understanding it of Antiochus Epiphanes, and considering Antiochus as a type of Antichrist; or by leaving him wholly out of the question, and seeking another application: and which method of the two is to be preferred, will better appear in the progress of this discourse.

A *horn* in the style of Daniel doth not signify any particular king, but is an emblem of a kingdom. In the former vision the 'ten horns' were not ten kings, but so many kingdoms, into which the Roman empire was divided: and the 'little horn' did not typify a single person, but a succession of men, claiming such prerogatives, and exerting such powers, as are there specified. In this vision likewise the 'two horns' of the ram do not represent the two kings, Darius the Mede and Cyrus the Persian, but the two kingdoms of Media and Persia: and for this plain reason, because, the ram hath all along two horns; even when he is attacked by the he-goat, he hath still two horns: but the two united kingdoms of Media and Persia had been long united under one king. The horns of the he-goat too prefigure not kings, but kingdoms. The first 'great horn' doth not design Alexander himself but the

* Sir Isaac Newton's observations on Daniel, Chap. 9.

the kingdom of Alexander, as long as the title continued united in him, and his brother and two sons. The 'four horns,' which arose after the first was broken, are expressly said ver. 22. to be 'four kingdoms:' and consequently it should seem, that the 'little horn' cannot signify Antiochus Epiphanes or any single king, but must denote some kingdom; by *kingdom* meaning what * the ancients meant, any government, state or polity in the world, whether monarchy, or republic, or of what form soever. Now what kingdom was there, that rose up during the subsistence of the four kingdoms of the Grecian empire, and was advanced to any greatness and eminence, but the Roman? The first 'great horn' was the kingdom of Alexander and his family. The 'four horns were four kingdoms,' not of his family, but only of the nation. 'Four kingdoms shall stand up out of the nation:' and doth not this imply that the remaining kingdom, the kingdom of the 'little horn,' should be not of the nation?

The general character therefore is better adapted to the Romans: and now let us consider the particular properties and actions of the little horn, whether they may be more justly ascribed to Antiochus Epiphanes or to the Romans. 'And out of one of them came forth a little horn.' Antiochus Epiphanes was indeed the son of Antiochus the great, king of Syria: and he is * said to be the 'little horn,' because he rose from small beginnings to the kingdom; having been many years an hostage at Rome. But when his kingdom was nothing more than a continuation of one of the four kingdoms; it cannot possibly be reckoned as a fifth kingdom springing up among the four; and the little horn is plainly some power different and distinct from the four former horns. Is not this therefore more applicable to the Romans, who were a new and different power, who rose from small beginnings

* See this point proved from heathen authors as well as from scripture in the beginning of Mr Mede's tract intitled *Regnum Romanum est regnum quartum Danielis*. Mede's works, B. 3. p. 711.

† Quid quum obses fuisset Romae, et nesciente senatu cepisset imperium, &c. Hieron. in Dan. 8. Col. 1104. Edit. Benedict. Antiochum Epiphanem significat, quia fuit Romae obses. Vatablus in locum venit regnum, &c. Clarius in locum. Antiochus modicae primus fortunae, privatus, et Romae obses, ex post facto dictus Epiphanes. Grotius in locum. So likewise Poole, &c.

nings to an exceeding great empire, who first subdued Macedon and Greece the capital kingdom of the goat, and from thence spread and enlarged their conquests over the rest; Nor let it seem strange, that the Romans who were ~~re~~figured by a great *beast* in the former vision, should in this be represented only by the *horn* of a *beast*; for nothing is more usual, than to describe the same person or thing under different images upon different occasions: and besides in this vision the Roman empire is not designed at large, but only the Roman empire as a horn of the goat. When the Romans first got footing in Greece, then they became a horn of the goat. Out of this horn they came, and were at first a little horn, but in process of time over-topped the other horns. From Greece they extended their arms, and over-ran the other parts of the goat's dominions: and their actions within the dominions of the goat, and not their affairs in the western empire, are the principal objects of this prophecy. But their actions, which are most largely and particularly specified, are their great persecution and oppression of the people of God: which renders it probable, that the appellation of 'the little horn' might be given them for the same reason, that the great persecutor and oppressor of the saints in the western empire is also called 'the little horn.' It is the same kind of power, and therefore might be signified by the same name.

It will appear too, that the time agrees better with the Romans. 'And in the latter time of their kingdom, when the transgressors are come to the full, a king of fierce countenance, and understanding dark sentences, shall stand up.' Antiochus Epiphanes might be said indeed to 'stand up in the latter time of their kingdom;' because Macedonia, the first of the four kingdoms, was conquered and reduced into a Roman province, during his reign. But when he stood up, 'the transgressors' in the Jewish nation 'were not come to the full;' for when he began to reign, † Onias was high-priest of the Jews, and the temporal as well as ecclesiastical government was at this time in the hands of the high-priest, and this Oni-

as

† For these and many particulars which follow, the two books of Maccabees, and Josephus his Antiquities of the Jews must be consulted.

as was a most worthy good magistrate, as well as a most venerable pious priest. As the author of the second book of Maccabees saith, 2 Mac. iii. 1. *the holy city was inhabited with all peace, and the laws were kept very well, because of the godliness of Onias the high-priest, and his hatred of wickedness.* It was after this time, that the great corruptions were introduced into the Jewish church and nation; and they were introduced chiefly through the means of Antiochus, by his direction, or under his authority. The Romans might much better be said to stand up 'in the latter time of their kingdom,' who saw the end not only of one kingdom, but of all the four; who first subdued the kingdom of Macedon and Greece, and then inherited by the will of Attalus the kingdom of Pergamus, which was the remains of the kingdom of Lyfimachus, and afterwards made a province of the kingdom of Syria, and lastly of the kingdom of Egypt. When the Romans stood up too, the transgressions were come to the full; for the high-priesthood was exposed to sale; good Onias was ejected for a sum of money to make room for wicked Jason, and Jason was again supplanted for a greater sum of money by a worse man (if possible) than himself, his brother Menelaus; and the golden vessels of the temple were sold to pay for the sacrilegious purchase. At the same time the custom of the heathen nations were introduced among the Jews; the youth were trained up and exercised after the manner of the Greeks; the people apostatized from the true religion, and even the priests, 2 Mac. iv. 14. *had no courage to serve any more at the altar, but despising the temple, and neglecting the sacrifices, they hastened to be partakers of unlawful diversions.* Nay, Jerusalem was taken by Antiochus; forty thousand Jews were slain, and as many more were sold into slavery; the temple was profaned even under the conduct of the high-priest Menelaus, was defiled with swines blood, and plundered of every thing valuable; and in the same year that Paulus Æmilus the Roman consul vanquished Perseus the last king of Macedonia, and thereby put an end to that kingdom, the Jewish religion was put down, and the heathen worship was set up in the cities of Judea, and in Jerusalem; and the temple itself was consecrated

to

to Jupiter Olympius, and his image was erected upon the very altar. Then indeed the transgressors were come to the full,' and then, as we see, the Romans stood up, 'a king of fierce countenance, and understanding dark sentences.'

A king in the prophetic stile is the same as a kingdom, and a kingdom as we before observed, is any state or government. 'A king of fierce countenance, and understanding dark sentences.' The latter expression in the † Syriac is translated *skilful in ruling*, and in the Arabic *skilful of disputations*. We may suppose the meaning to be, that this should be a politic and artful, as well as a formidable power; which is not so properly the character of Antiochus as of the Romans. They were represented in the former vision by a 'beast dreadful and terrible;' and for the same reason they are here denominated 'a king of fierce countenance.' He cannot so well be said to be 'a king of fierce countenance,' who was even frightened out of Egypt by a message from the Romans. The * story is worthy of memory. Antiochus Epiphanes was making war upon Egypt, and was in a fair way of becoming master of the whole kingdom. The Romans therefore fearing lest he should grow too powerful by annexing Egypt to the crown of Syria, sent an embassy to him, to require him to desist from his enterprize, or to declare war against him. He was drawing near to besiege Alexandria, when he was met by the three ambassadors from Rome. Popillius, the chief of them, had formerly been his friend and acquaintance, while he was an hostage at Rome: and the king at their first meeting graciously offered him his hand in remembrance of their former friendship. But Popillius declined the compliment by saying, that private friendship must give place to the public welfare, and he must first know whether the king was a friend to the Roman state, before he could acknowledge him a friend to himself: and so saying he presented to him the tables which contained the decree of the senate, and desired an immediate answer. Antiochus opened and perused them, and replied

* Regnandi peritus Syr. Disputationum peritus Arab.

† Polyb. Legrt. 91. p. 916. Edit. Casaubon. Appian. de Bellis Syriacis, p. 131. Edit. Steph. p. 212 Edit. Tolli Livius, Lib 45 Cap 12 Valerius Maximus, Lib 6 Cap 4 Sect 3 Valcius Paterculus, Lib 1 Cap 10 Justin Lib 34 Cap 3

plied that he would consider the matter with his friends, and return his answer very speedily. But Popilius with a wand that he carried in his hand drew a circle in the sand round the king, and insisted upon his answer, so that he stirred out of that circle. The king astonished at this peremptory and imperious manner of proceeding, after some hesitation, said that he would obey the commands of the senate : and then at length Popilius reached forth his hand to him as a friend and confederate. This incident happened very soon after the conquest of Macedonia, which as it dismayed Antiochus, so it emboldened the Romans to act in this manner : and this being their first memorable action as soon they became a horn or kingdom of the goat, it is very fitly said of them, more fitly than of Antiochus, 'a king of fierce countenance shall stand up.'

The other actions likewise of the little horn accord better with the Romans. This horn, though little at first, yet 'waxed exceeding great, toward the south, and toward the east, and toward the pleasant land.' This horn therefore, as Sir Isaac Newton * justly observes, was to rise up in the north-west part of those nations, which composed the body of the goat : and from thence was to extend his dominion towards Egypt, Syria, and Judea. Observe the particulars. He 'waxed exceeding great : ' and so did the Roman empire even within the territories of the goat, but not so did Antiochus Epiphanes ; for he was so far from enlarging the kingdom of Syria, that it was less in his time than under most of his predecessors, and he left it as he found it, tributary to the Romans. — 'Toward the south : ' Antiochus indeed did several times invade Egypt, and gained great advantages over Ptolemy Philometor king of Egypt : but he was never able to make himself absolute master of the country, and annex it to the kingdom of Syria ; as the Romans made it a province of their empire, and kept possession of it for several centuries. His designs were frustrated, as we have seen, by an embassy from the Romans ; and he went out of Egypt baffled and disgraced, a word from them being as effectual as an army. — 'Toward the east : ' the Romans did grow very powerful toward the east ; they conquered and

* Sir Isaac Newton's Observ. on Daniel, chap. 9. p. 119, 120.

† Matt. VII. 12.

and made a province of Syria, which was the eastern kingdom of the goat: but Antiochus was seated in the east himself, and did not extend his dominions farther eastward. On the contrary the Parthians had withdrawn their obedience from the kings of Syria, and had erected a growing kingdom in the east. Antiochus did indeed † vanquish Artaxias, the tributary king of Armenia, who had revolted from him; but this was rather in the north than in the east. He had not the like success among the Persians, who were also dilatory in paying their tribute; for ‡ having heard much of the tribes of Elymais, and particularly of the temple there, he went thither with a design of seizing the treasures of the city and temple: but the inhabitants rose upon him, repelled and routed him and his army, so that he was forced to fly with disappointment and disgrace out of the country; and soon after he sickened and died.—‘And toward the pleasant land,’ that is Judea; for so it is called in the Psalms cvi. 24. ‘the pleasant land;’ and in Jeremiah iii. 19. ‘a pleasant land, a goodly heritage;’ and so twice again afterwards in Dan. xi. 16, 41. Antiochus did indeed take Jerusalem, and miserably harass and oppress the Jews, as it has been above related: but the Jews in a little time, under the conduct of the Maccabees, recovered their liberties, and established their religion and government in greater splendor and security than before. The Romans more effectually conquered and subdued them, first made a province of their country, and then destroyed their city and temple, and dispersed the people, so that after so fatal a fall they have never from that time to this been able to rise again.

Another remarkable property, that eminently distinguished the little horn from all others, was that ‘his power should be mighty, but not by his own power;’ which commentators are much at a loss to explain. Some say, || that he should be mighty not so much by his own

Vol. II.

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industry,

† Appian. de Bell. Syr. p. 117. et 131. Edit. Steph. p. 187. et 212. Edit. Tollii, Porphyrius apud Hieron. in Dan. xi. Col. 1135. Edit. Benedict.

‡ 1 Maccab. VI. 1—4. 2 Maccab. IX. 1, 2. Joseph. Antiq. Lib. 12. Cap. 8. Sect. 1. p. 544. Edit. Hudson. Porphyrius apud Hieron. ibid.

- Non propria industria, sed Deo dante. Vatabulus.

industry, as by the gift of God ; but so are all horns or kingdoms whatever. Others say † that God should give him this power for the punishment of his people ; and others again, ‡ that he should obtain it by the factions and perfidy and baseness of the Jews, who should betray their country to him : but these limit and restrain the meaning to a particular subject, to his power over the Jews, whereas it is said in the general, that ‘ his power should be mighty, but not by his own power.’ His power’ in general, not only over this or that particular people, ‘ should be mighty, but not by his own power.’ The best explanation that they can give of it, who understand the whole of Antiochus Epiphanes, is that he || attained to the crown chiefly by the favour and assistance of Eumenes king of Pergamus and Attalus his brother, who having at that time some jealousy of the Romans, were desirous to make the king of Syria their friend : but we do not read that they assisted him in any of his wars afterwards, and neither was his kingdom strengthened by foreign armies or alliances. They who conceive Antiochus to be a type of Antichrist, § offer a fairer interpretation, because Antichrist was to exercise an usurped authority and not his own, and the kings of the earth, according to St John, Rev. xvii. 13. were to ‘ give their power and strength unto the beast.’ But this part of the prophecy, as well as the rest, can no where be so justly and properly applied, as to the Romans. With them it quadrates exactly, and with none of the other horns or kingdoms of the goat. The strength of the other kingdoms consisted in themselves, and had had its foundation in some part of the goat ; but the Roman empire, as a horn or kingdom of the goat, was not mighty by its own power, was not strong by virtue of the goat, but drew its nourishment and strength from Rome and Italy. There grew the trunk and body of the tree, though the branches extended over Greece, Asia, Syria and Egypt.

The remainder of the prophecy relates mostly to the persecution

† Quia Deus voluit per ipsum punire populum suum. Clarius.

‡ So Poole, Lowth, &c. Non tam ex ipso causa erit tanti incrementi, quam ex factionibus Judaeorum. Grotius.

§ Appian. de Bell. Syr. p. 116. Edit. Steph. p. 137. Edit. Tollii.

¶ See Lowth's Comment.

persecution and oppression of the people of God. 'And he waxed great even to the host of heaven, (or against the host of heaven), and he cast down some of the host, and of the stars to the ground, and stamped upon them,' that is, the Jewish state in general, 'the mighty and the holy people,' ver. 24. or the priests and Levites in particular; who are called *stars*; as they were eminent for their station and illustrious for their knowledge; and 'the host of heaven,' as they watched and served in the temple, and their service is denominated 'a warfare,' Numb. viii. 24, 25. This passage was in some measure fulfilled by Antiochus Epiphanes as well as by the Romans: but our Saviour making use of the like expressions, Matt. xxiv. 29. 'the stars shall fall from heaven, and the powers of the heavens shall be shaken,' in speaking of the destruction of Jerusalem by the Romans, this passage also may more properly be referred to that event.

Yea he magnified himself even to the prince of the host, (or against the prince of the host), and by him the daily sacrifice was taken away, and the place of his sanctuary was cast down.' Antiochus did indeed 'take away the daily sacrifice,' but he did not 'cast down the place of his sanctuary,' he did not destroy the temple. He took away the daily sacrifice for a few years, but the Romans for many ages: and the Romans likewise utterly destroyed the temple, which he spoiled only and profaned.

'And an host was given him against the daily sacrifice by reason of transgression. The word here translated *an host* is rendered in other places, Job vii. 1. and in the book of Daniel itself, x. 1. 'an appointed time: And an appointed time was given him against the daily sacrifice by reason of transgression:' Or as we read in the margin, 'The host was given over for the transgression against the daily sacrifice, and he cast down the truth to the ground, and he practised, and prospered.' Or as the same thing is expressed by the angel: 'He shall destroy wonderfully, and shall prosper, and practise, and shall destroy the mighty and the holy people; and through his policy also he shall cause craft to prosper in his hand, and he shall magnify himself in his heart, and by peace shall destroy many.' But Antiochus did not so mightily de-

stroy the Jews, nor prosper in his practices and designs against them. When he took Jerusalem, * he slew forty thousand, and sold forty thousand more: but when the city was besieged and taken by the Romans, † the number of the captives amounted to ninety-seven thousand, and of the slain to eleven hundred thousand. The Romans too carried their conquest and revenge so far, as to put an end to the government of the Jews, and entirely to take away their palce and nation. Antiochus meant as much to root out the whole people; his malice was as great, but his success was not equal: for though his forces were victorious at first, yet they were defeated at last, and his ‡ generals, Apollonius, Seron, Nicanor and Gorgias, Timotheus and Bacchides, and even Lyfias himself, were all shamefully routed one after another, and the news of these defeats hastened his death.

It is farther added, that 'he shall also stand up against the prince of princes.' If by the 'prince of princes' the high-priest be meant, it is very true that Antiochus did put in and put out the high-priests at pleasure, but the Romans took away the whole administration. If by 'the prince of princes' be meant, as most probably was meant, the Messiah, then Antiochus had no share in the completion; it was effected by the Romans. It was by the malice of the Jews, but by the authority of the Romans, that he was put to death; and he suffered the punishment of the Roman malefactors and slaves. And indeed it is very worthy of our most serious consideration, whether this part of the prophecy be not a sketch of the late and sufferings of the Christian, as well as of the Jewish church. Nothing is more usual with the prophets than to describe the religion and worship of later times by metaphors and figures borrowed from their own religion. The Christians may full as well as the Jews be comprehended under the name of *the holy people*, or *people of the holy ones*. And the Romans not only crucified our Saviour, but also persecuted his disciples for above three centuries: and when at length they embraced the Christian religion

* 2 Macc. V. 14.

† Joseph de Bell. Jud. Lib. 6. Cap. 9. Sect. 2, et 3. p. 1291. Edit. Hudson.

‡ 1 Macc. III. IV. 2. Macc. VIII. X. XI. Joseph. Antiq. 12. Cap. p. 537. Edit. Hudson.

religion, they soon corrupted it ; so that it may be questioned, whether their favour was not as hurtful to the church, as their enmity. As the power of the Roman emperors declined, that of the Roman pontiffs increased ; and may it not with equal truth and justice be said of the latter, as of the former, that they ‘ cast down the truth to the ground, and practised and prospered ? ’ How applicable in this sense is every part of the angel’s interpretation ‘ A king of fierce countenance, and understanding dark sentences shall stand up. And his power shall be mighty, but not by his own power : and he shall destroy wonderfully, and shall prosper and practise, and shall destroy the mighty and the holy people, (or the people of the holy ones) And through his policy he also shall cause craft to prosper in his hand, and he shall magnify himself in his heart, and by peace shall destroy many . he shall also stand up against the prince of princes, but he shall be broken without hand.’ And this further opens and explains the reason of the appellation ‘ the little horn.’ The persecuting power of Rome, whether exercised towards the Jews, or towards the Christians, or by the emperors, or by the popes, is still ‘ the little horn.’ The tyranny is the same, but as exerted in Greece and the East, it is the little horn of the he-goat or the third empire, as exerted in Italy and the West, it is the little horn of the fourth beast, or the fourth empire.

But the little horn, like other tyrannical powers, was to come to a remarkable end ; ‘ he shall be broken without hand.’ As the stone in Nebuchadnezzar’s dream was ‘ cut out of the mountains without hands,’ that is, not by human, but by supernatural means ; so the little horn ‘ shall be broken without hand,’ not die the common death, not fall by the hand of men, but perish by a stroke from heaven. And this agrees perfectly with the former predictions of the fatal catastrophe of the Romans. ‘ The stone,’ that is, the power of Christ, ii. 34. ‘ smote the image upon his feet of iron and clay, and brake them to pieces.’ Again, vii. 11. ‘ I beheld then, because of the voice of the great words which the horn spake : I beheld even till the beast was slain, and his body destroyed, and given to the burning flame.’ And again, ver. 26, ‘ the judgment shall sit, and they shall take away his domi-

on, to consume, and to destroy it unto the end.' All which implies that the dominion of the Romans shall finally be destroyed with some extraordinary manifestation of the divine power. It is indeed very true, that Antiochus Epiphanes died in an extraordinary manner. He was returning from his unsuccessful expedition into Persia, when he heard the news of the defeat of his armies one after another by the forces of the Maccabees. He set forward therefore in great rage and fury, breathing nothing but death and destruction to the whole generation of the Jews. But in the way he was seized with violent pains in his bowels; and having a fall from his chariot, he was sorely bruised, and his inward pains grew more violent, so that he was not able to proceed in his journey, but was forced to stop at a little town upon the road. There he lay in great torment, and filthy ulcers broke out in his body, from whence issued worms, and such a stench, that he became intolerable to others, and even to himself. Nor were the torments and agonies of his mind less than those of his body. He was vexed even to distraction, thought he saw dreadful spectres and apparitions, and suffered all the pangs and horrors of a guilty conscience: and in this miserable condition he lay pining and rotting till he died. This is the account that is given of his death, and † confirmed by Heathen as well as by Jewish historians: but with this difference, that the former ascribe it to the vengeance of the gods for the sacrilege that he designed to commit at E'ymais: the latter represent it as the just judgment of heaven for the sacrilege that he really committed at Jerusalem, and for the barbarous slaughter that he made of so many thousand of the Jews; and they say, that he himself upon his death-bed confessed as much: and which of these accounts is the more probable and credible, every intelligent reader will easily determine.

By thus tracing the particulars it appears, that though some of them may agree very well with Antiochus Epiphanes, yet others can by no means accord or be reconciled

† Polyb. p. 997. Edit. Casaubon. Appian. de Bell. Syr. p. 131. Edit. Steph. p. 212. Edit. Tollii. Diodorus et Porphyrius apud Hieron. in Dan. 21. Col. 1131 et 1133. Edit. Benedicti. 1 Maccab. VI. 1—16. 2 Maccab. IX. Joseph. Antiq. Lib. 12. Cap. 8. seqq. 11. p. 544. Edit. Hudson.

ciled to him: but they all agree and correspond exactly with the Romans, and with no one else: so that the application of the character to them must be the right application. It is therefore surprising, that a man of Dr Halifax's learning, after so many proofs to the contrary, can however opine, that the character "must of necessity, be restrained to Antiochus Epiphanes, and to him only;" and for such reasons, and for none others than have here been obviated and refuted. The fitness and propriety of the application to the Romans will still farther appear by considering the time, that is allotted for the duration and continuance of the vision. 'I will make thee know,' saith the angel to Daniel, ver. 19: 'what shall be in the last end, or to the last end of the indignation:' that is, as Mr Lowth paraphraseth it, "I will explain to thee the whole series of God's judgments upon his people to the end and conclusion of them:" but that end and conclusion is not yet come. There are intimations in the prophets, that God's indignation against his people will be accomplished, and the final destruction of the Roman dominion will fall out about the same period. But the time is more particularly noted. One angel asked another angel, v. 13. 'How long shall be the vision concerning the daily sacrifice and the transgression of desolation, to give both the sanctuary, and the host to be trodden under foot? In the original there is no such word as *concerning*; and Mr Lowth rightly observes, that the words may be rendered more agreeably to the Hebrew thus, 'For how long a time shall the vision last, the daily sacrifice be taken away, and the transgression of desolation continue, &c.?' After the same manner the question is translated by the * Seventy, and in the Arabic version; and in the Vulgar Latin. The answer is, v. 14. 'Unto two thousand, and three hundred days; then shall the sanctuary be cleansed.' In the original it is, 'Unto two thousand and three hundred evenings and mornings,' an evening and morning being in Hebrew the notation of time for a day; and in allusion to this expression it is said afterwards, ver. 26. 'The vision of the evening and the morning

* *Est usque in spem eternam, in finem in actum, n. c. l. Sept. Quousque visio hæc continget, et auferatur sacrificium, &c. Arab. Usquequo visio, et iuge sacrificium, &c. Vulg.*

ning is true.* Now these two thousand and three hundred days can by no computation be accommodated to the times of Antiochus Epiphanes, even though the days be taken for natural days. Two thousand and three hundred days are six years and somewhat more than a quarter: but the profanation of the altar under Antiochus lasted but three years complete, according to the author of the first book of the Maccabees; 1 Macc. i. 59. compared with iv. 52. and the desolation of the temple, and the taking away of the daily sacrifice by Apollonius continued but three years and a half, according † to Josephus. Mr Mede proposeth a method to reconcile the difference, and ‡ faith that the time is “not to be reckoned from the height of the calamity, when the *daily sacrifice should be taken away*, (from thence it is but three years), but from the beginning of the transgression, which occasioned this desolation, and is described, 1 Maccab. i. 11, &c.” But Antiochus began to reign, according to the author of the first book of the Maccabees, i. 10. *in the 137th year of the kingdom of the Greeks, or æra of the Seleucidæ*; and *in those days* was the beginning of the transgression, which is described, 1 Macc. i. 11, &c. that is ten or eleven years before the cleansing of the sanctuary, which was performed *in the 148th year* according to the same author: iv. 51. Or if we compute the time from Antiochus’s first going up against Jerusalem, and spoiling the city and temple, these things were done according to the same author, i. 20. *in the 143d year*: so that this reckoning would fall short of the time assigned, as the other exceeds it. The difficulty or impossibility rather of making these two thousand and three hundred days accord with the times of Antiochus, I suppose, obliged the ancients to consider Antiochus as a type of Antichrist: and therefore † Jerome faith in his comment, that this place most Christians refer to Antichrist; and affirm, that what was transacted in a type under Antiochus, will be fulfilled in truth under

* Joseph Proem. de Bell. Jud. Sect. 7. p. 956. Lib. 1. Cap. 1. Sect. 1. p. 958. Edit. Hudson.

† Mr Mede’s Apostasy of the latter times. Part 1. Chap. 14. in his works. Book 3. p. 639.

‡ Hunc locum plerique nostrorum ad Antichristum referunt: et quod sub Antiocho in typo factum est, sub illo in veritate dicunt esse complendum. Hieron. in locum. Col. 1106. Edit. Benedic.

der Antichrist. The days without doubt are to be taken, agreeable to the style of Daniel in other places, not for natural, but for prophetic days or years; and as the question was asked, not only how long the daily sacrifice shall be taken away and the transgression of desolation continue, but also how long the vision shall last; so the answer is to be understood, and these two thousand and three hundred days denote the whole time from the beginning of the vision to the cleansing of the sanctuary. The sanctuary is not yet cleansed, and consequently these years are not yet expired. When these years shall be expired, then their end will clearly shew from whence their beginning is to be dated, whether from the vision of the ram, or of the he-goat, or of the little horn. It is difficult to fix the precise time, when the prophetic dates begin, and when they end, till the prophecies are fulfilled, and the event declares the certainty of them. And the difficulty is increased in this case by reason of some variety in the copies. For the * Seventy have *four hundred* in this place; and others, as † Jerome informs us, read *two hundred* instead of three hundred. If we follow the reading of the Seventy, *Unto two thousand and four hundred days or years*, then perhaps they are to be computed from the vision of the ram, or the establishment of the Persian empire. If we follow the other reading mentioned by Jerome, *Unto two thousand and two hundred days or years*, then perhaps they are to be computed from the vision of the little horn, or the Romans invading the Grecian empire: and it is remarkable, ‡ that the Romans first passed over with an army, and made war before Philip king of Macedonia, just 200 years before Christ. But if we still retain the common reading, (which probably is the truest and best,) *Unto two thousand and three hundred days or years*, then I conceive they are to be computed from the vision of the he-goat, or Alexander's invading Asia. Alexander invaded Asia || in the year of the world 3670, and in the year before Christ 334. Two thousand and three hundred years from that time will draw towards the conclusion

* ἑβδομήκοντα δι' ἑξακλιῶν καὶ τριῶντος. Sept.

† Quidam pro duobus millibus trecentis, duo millia ducentos legunt. Hieron. ibid.

‡ See Usher's Annals. ibid.

|| See Usher, Prideaux, &c.

conclusion of the sixth millennium of the world, and about that period, according to an * old tradition, which was current before our Saviour's time, and was probably founded upon the prophecies, great changes and revolutions are expected; and particularly as † Rabbi Abraham Sebah saith, Rome is to be overthrown, and the Jews are to be restored. The angel farther affirms the truth and certainty of the vision, and of the time allotted for it, ver. 26. 'The vision of the evening and the morning, which was told, is true: wherefore shut thou up the vision, for it shall be for many days.' *The shutting up of the vision* implies, that it should not be understood of some time; and we cannot say that it was sufficiently understood, so long as Antiochus Epiphanes was taken for the little horn. The vision being for 'many days,' must necessarily infer a longer term, than the calamity under Antiochus of three years or three years and a half, or even than the whole time from the first beginning of the vision in Cyrus to the cleansing of the sanctuary under Antiochus, which was not ‡ above 371 years. Such a vision could not well be called long to Daniel, who had seen so much longer before; and especially as the time assigned for it is 'two thousand and three hundred days,' which since they cannot by any account be natural days, must needs be prophetic days, or two thousand and three hundred years. Such a vision may properly enough be said to be 'for many days.'

Daniel was much affected with the misfortunes and afflictions, which were to befall the church and people of God, ver. 27. 'And I Daniel fainted, and was sick certain days; afterward I rose up, and did the king's business, and I was astonished at the vision, but none understood it.' Munster, and Clarius who generally transcribes Munster,

* See Placita Doctorum Hebræorum de magno die judicii, et regno Messiae tunc futuro, in Mede's Works, Book 3. p. 535. and Placita Doctorum Hebræorum de Babylonis seu Romæ excidio, in Mede's Works, Book 5. p. 902.

† R. Abraham Sebah in Gen. 1. ait, currente sexto annorum mundi millennio Romam exertentem, et Judæos reducendos, ibid. p. 903.

‡ See Usher, Prideaux, &c. The first year of Cyrus was A. M. 3468, before Christ 536. The sanctuary was cleansed, A. M. 3839, before Christ 165.

infer, * are of opinion that Daniel was visited by this sickness, lest he should be lifted up by the sublimity of the visions. I presume they thought his case somewhat like St Paul's, 2 Cor. xii. 7. who had 'a thorn in the flesh,' or a bodily infirmity, 'lest he should be exalted above measure through the abundance of the revelations.' But it is much more probable, that Daniel's sickness proceeded from his grief for his religion and country: as in the former vision 'he was grieved in his spirit, his cogitations much troubled him, and his countenance changed in him,' at the success of the little horn there described. And this is another most conclusive argument, that the calamities under Antiochus Epiphanes could not possibly be the main end and ultimate scope of this prophecy. For the calamities under Antiochus were of small extent and of short duration, in comparison with what the nation had suffered, and was then suffering under Nebuchadnezzar and his successors. Antiochus took the city, but Nebuchadnezzar burnt it to the ground. Antiochus profaned the temple, but Nebuchadnezzar utterly destroyed it. Antiochus made captives forty thousand of the Jews, but Nebuchadnezzar carried the whole nation into captivity. Antiochus took away the daily sacrifice for three years and a half, but Nebuchadnezzar abolished all the temple service for seventy years. Why then should Daniel, who had seen and felt these greater calamities, be so much grieved at those lesser disasters of the nation? Present and sensible evils usually affect us most: and therefore that Daniel was so much more affected with the future than with the present, 'was astonished, and fainted, and was sick certain days,' can be ascribed to nothing but to his foreseeing, that the future distress and misery of the nation would greatly exceed all that they sustained at present. But the calamities under Antiochus were much less, and much shorter. Those only which they suffered from the Romans, were greater and worse than the evils brought on them by Nebuchadnezzar. And 'the transgression

* Et quod subditur de aegrotatione Danielis, ostenditur illam prophetæ immixtam, ne extolleretur sublimitate visionum, quas solus intelligebat. Munsterus. Et quod de aegrotatione sua dicit, ostenditur, illam prophetæ immixtam, ne extolleretur sublimitate visionum, quas solus intelligebat. Clarus.

gression of desolation' hath now continued these 1700 years. They expect, and we expect, that at length 'the sanctuary will be cleansed,' and that in God's determined times his promise will be fully accomplished; Amos ix. 11, 12. Acts xv. 16, 17. I will return, and will build again the tabernacle of David, which is fallen down; and I will build again the ruins thereof, and I will set it up; That the residue of men might seek after the Lord, and all the Gentiles upon whom my name is called, saith the Lord, who doeth all these things.

This concern of Daniel, and affection for his religion and country, shew him in a very amiable light, and gave an additional lustre and glory to his character. But not only in this instance, but in every other, he manifests the same public spirit, and appears no less eminently a patriot than a prophet. Though he was torn early from his country and enjoyed all the advantages that he could enjoy in foreign service, yet nothing could make him forget his native home: And in the next chapter we see him pouring out his soul in prayer, and supplicating most earnestly and devoutly for the pardon and restoration of his captive nation. It is a gross mistake therefore to think, that religion will ever extinguish or abate our love for our country. The scriptures will rather incite and inflame it, exhibit several illustrious examples of it, and recommend and enforce this, as well as all other moral and social virtues; and especially when the interests of true religion and of our country are so blendid and interwoven, that they cannot well be separated the one from the other. This is a double incentive to the love of our country; and with the same zeal that every pious Jew might say formerly, every honest Briton may say now, with the good Psalmist, Psal. cxxii. 6, &c. 'O pray for the peace of Jerusalem; they shall prosper that love thee. Peace be within thy walls, and plenteousness within thy palaces. For my brethren and companions sake I will wish thee prosperity: Yea, because of the house of the Lord our God I will seek to do thee good.'

XVI.

DANIEL's Prophecy of the things noted in the scripture of truth.

IN TWO PARTS.

PART I.

IT is the usual method of the Holy Spirit to make the latter prophecies explanatory of the former; and revelation is, Prov. iv. 18, 'as the shining light that shineth more and more unto the perfect day.' The four great empires of the world, which were shewn to Nebuchadnezzar in the form of a great image, were again more particularly represented to Daniel in the shape of four great wild beasts. In like manner, the memorable events, which were revealed to Daniel in the vision of the ram and he-goat, are here again more clearly and explicitly revealed in his last vision by an angel; so that this latter prophecy may not improperly be said to be a comment and explanation of the former. This revelation was made, x. 1. 'in the third year of Cyrus king of Persia, when Daniel was very far advanced in years. For the third year of Cyrus was the seventy-third of Daniel's captivity; and being a youth when he was carried captive, he cannot be supposed now to have been less than ninety; and not long after this, it is reasonable to believe that he died. Old as he was, he 'set his heart to understand' the former revelations which had been made to him, and particularly the vision of the ram and he-goat, as I think we may collect from the sequel: and for this purpose he prayed, and fasted three weeks. His fastings and prayers had the desired effect: for an angel was sent, and said unto him, ver. 12. 'Fear not Daniel; for from the first day that thou didst set thine heart to understand, and to chasten thyself before thy God, thy words are heard, and I am come for thy words.' And whoever would attain the same ends, and excel in divine knowledge, must pursue the same means, and habituate himself to study, temperance, and devotion. The angel declares the design of his coming, ver. 14. 'Now I am come to make thee understand

understand what shall befall thy people in the latter days; for yet the vision is for many days.' This prophecy therefore contains the fate and fortune of the people of God for many years. As 'it was said before, ver. 1. 'the thing was true, but the time appointed was long;' and consequently this prophecy must extend farther than from the third year of Cyrus to the death of Antiochus Epiphanes, which was not [†] above 370 years. In reality it comprehends many signal events after that time to the end of the world: but the types and figures of the things are not exhibited in this as in most of the other visions, and then expounded by the angel; but the angel relates the whole, and not by way of vision, but only by narration, informs Daniel of 'that which is noted in the scripture of truth,' ver. 21. 'I will shew thee that which is noted in the scripture of truth, as if future events were noted in a book before God: and this prophecy, being taken from 'the scripture of truth,' is therefore deserving of our strictest attention; and we may depend upon the certainty of all the particulars contained therein, if we can but rightly understand and expound them.

The angel first prophesies of the Persian empire, which was then subsisting. Behold, there shall stand up yet three kings in Persia; and the fourth shall be far richer than they all; and by his strength through his riches, he shall stir up all against the realm of Grecia.' xi., 2. 'There shall stand up yet,' that is after Cyrus, the founder of the empire who was then reigning, 'three kings in Persia;' these were Cambyfes, the son of Cyrus; Smerdis the Magian, who pretended to be another son of Cyrus, but was really an impostor; and Darius, the son of Hystaspes, who married the daughter of Cyrus. 'And the fourth shall be far richer than they all.' The fourth after Cyrus was Xerxes, the son and successor of Darius; of whom Justin || truly remarks, "If you consider this king, you may praise his riches, not the general; of which there was

† The third year of Cyrus was A. M. 3470 before Christ 523. Antiochus Epiphanes died A. M. 3840 before Christ 164. See Usher, Prideaux, &c.

|| Si regem spectes, divitias, non ducem laudes; quarum tantum in rebus ejus fuit, ut, cum flumina multitudine consumerent, non tam regem superesset Justin L. 2. Cap. 10.

was so great abundance in his kingdom, that when rivers were dried up by his army, yet his wealth remained unexhausted." Pythius the Lydian * was at that time the richest subject in the world. He generously entertained Xerxes and all his army, and profered him two thousand talents of silver, and three millions nine hundred ninety-three thousand pieces of gold with the stamp of Darius, towards defraying the charges of the war. But Xerxes was so far from wanting any supplies, that he rewarded Pythius for his liberality, and presented him with seven thousand darics, to make up his number a complete round sum of four millions. Each of those darics † was worth better than a guinea of our money. 'And by his strength through his riches he shall stir up all,' both subjects and allies, 'against the realm of Grecia.' Xerxes's expedition into Greece is one of the most memorable adventures in-anceint history. Herodotus affirms, that ‡ Xerxes in raising his army searched every place of the continent, and it was the greatest army that ever was brought into the field; for what nation was there, says he, that Xerxes led not out of Asia into Greece? Herodotus lived in that age; and he || recounts with great exactness the various nations of which Xerxes's army was composed, and computes that the whole number of horse and foot, by land and sea, out of Asia and out of Europe, soldiers and followers of the camp, amounted to five millions, two hundred eighty three thousand, two hundred and twenty men. Nor was Xerxes content with stirring up the east, but was for stirring up § the west likewise, and engaged the Carthaginians in his alliance, that while he with his army overwhelmed Greece, they might fall upon the Greek colonies in Sicily and Italy:

F 2

and

* Herod. Lib. 7. Sect. 27. &c. p. 395. Edit. Gale:

† Bernard de ponderibus et mensuris antiquis. p. 171. Frideaux Connect. Part 1. B. 2. p. 538. Darius the Mede 1.

‡ Και Πέρσης τὴν ἐρατὴν ὅταν ἐπαγαγέοντο ποταμοῖσι, χαρὸν πάντῃ κρείωνι τῆς ἡττιου. Xerxes autem ita copias suas contraxit, omnem continet-
t a locum scrutaretur——τολὼν γὰρ τῶν ἡμῶς ἰδμεν πολλὰν δὴ
μείγνυται ὅταν ἐγίνετο. Nam omnium quos novimus exercituum hic
multo maximus extitit——τι γὰρ καὶ παρὰ καὶ τῆς Ἀσiei ἐπὶ τῆς
Ἑλλάδα Πέρσης; quam enim ex Asia gentem in Graeciam non ad-
duxit Xerxes? Herod. Lib. 7. Sect. 20, 21. p. 393. Edit. Gale.

§ Herod. ibid. Sect. 90, &c. p. 184, &c.

|| Diod. Sic. Lib. 11. in initio.

and the Carthaginians for this purpose not only raised all the forces they could in Africa, but also hired a great number of mercenaries in Spain and Gaul, and Italy; so that their army consisted of three hundred thousand men and their fleet of two hundred ships. Thus did Xerxes 'flir up all against the realm of Grecia; and after him no mention is made of any other king of Persia. "It is to be noted, * saith Jerome, that the prophet having enumerated four kings of the Persians after Cyrus, slip-peth over nine, and passeth to Alexander; for the prophetic spirit did not care to follow the order of history, but only to touch upon the most famous events." Xerxes was the principal author of the long wars and inveterate hatred between the Grecians and Persians; and as he was the last king of Persia who invaded Greece, he is mentioned last. The Grecians then in their turn invaded Asia: and Xerxes's expedition being the most memorable on one side, as Alexander's was on the other, the reigns of these two are not improperly connected together.

Alexander is thus characterised, ver. 3. 'And a mighty king shall stand up, that shall rule with great dominion and do according to his will.' That Alexander was 'a mighty king' and conqueror; that he 'ruled with great dominion,' not only over Greece and the whole Persian empire, but likewise added India to his conquests; and that he 'did according to his will,' none daring, not even his friends, to contradict and oppose him, or if they did, like Clitus and Callisthenes, paying for it with their lives are facts too well known to require any particular proof or illustration.

But his kingdom was soon to be broken and divided; ver. 4. 'And when he shall stand up, his kingdom shall be broken, and shall be divided towards the four winds of heaven; and not to his posterity, nor according to his dominion which he ruled: for his kingdom shall be pluckt up even for others besides those.' These particulars were in good measure suggested before, viii. 8, 22. 'He waxed very great, and when he was strong, the great horn was broken;

* Notandum quod quatuor post Cyrum regibus Persarum enumeratis, novem praeterierit, et transierit ad Alexandrum. Non incuriae fuit spiritui prophetali historiae ordinem sequi; sed ara quaeque perstringere. Hieron. in locum. Col. 121. Edit.

broken; and for it came up four notable ones toward the four winds of heaven. Now that being broken, whereas four stood up for it, four kingdoms shall stand up out of the nation, but not in his power.* Alexander died in Babylon, † having lived only thirty-two years and eight months, of which he reigned twelve years and eight months. In so short a time did this sun of glory rise and set: and in the space of about fifteen years afterwards his family and posterity became extinct, and chiefly by the means of Cassander. It was soon after Alexander's death, that his wife Statira, the daughter of Darius, ‡ was murdered out of jealousy by his other wife Roxana; and her body was thrown into a well, and earth cast upon it. His natural brother Aridæus, who succeeded him in the throne by the name of Philip, § was together with his wife Eurydice killed by the command of Olympias the mother of Alexander, after he had borne the title of king six years and some months: and not long after || Olympias herself was slain in revenge by the foldiers of Cassander. Alexander Ægus, the son of Alexander by Roxana, as soon as he was born, was joined in the title of king with Philip Aridæus; and when he had attained to the fourteenth year of his age, ¶ he and his mother were privately murdered in the castle of Amphipolis by order of Cassander. In the second year after this, † Hercules the other son of Alexander by Barsine the widow of Memnon, was also with his mother privately murdered by Polyspercon, induced thereto by the great offers made to him by Cassander. Such was the miserable end of Alexander's family: and then the governors

F 3

made

* εἰς αὐτὸν δὲ δύο καὶ τριάκοντα ἔτη, καὶ τὸν τριῖν-μηνος ἐπιλαβὼν οὖτον, ὡς λέγουσι Ἀριστοβούλου, βασιλεῖται δὲ δώδεκα ἔτη, καὶ τὸς οὖτον μηνὸς ὅτετος. Vixit annos XXXII. menses VIIII. ut autor est Aristobulus. Regnavit annos XII. menses VIIII Arrian. Lib. 7. Cap. 28. p. 329. Gronov.

† Plutarch in fine Vit. Alex. p. 707. Edit. Paris 1624.

‡ Diod. Sic. Lib. 19. p. 676. Edit. Steph. p. 669. Tom. 2. Edit. Rhod. Justin. Lib. 14. Cap. 5.

§ Diod. Sic. ibid. p. 698, 699. Edit. Steph. p. 694. Tom. 2. Edit. Rhod. Justin. Lib. 14. Cap. 6. Pausanias Erot. five Lib. 9. p. 225. Ed. Khunii.

¶ Diod. Sic. ibid. p. 728. Edit. Steph. p. 739. Tom. 2. Edit. Justin. Lib. 15. Cap. 2. Pausanias, ibid.

† Diod. Sic. Lib. 20. p. 746. Edit. Steph. p. 735. Tom. 2. Edit. Rhod. Justin. ibid. Pausanias ibid.

made themselves kings each in his province, from which title they had abstained, * as long as any just heir of Alexander was surviving. Thus was Alexander's kingdom 'broken and divided not to his posterity,' but 'was pluckt up even for others besides those : and it was 'divided to the four winds of heaven ;' for four of his captains, as it hath been shewn in former dissertations, prevailed over the rest, and Cassander reigned in Greece and the *west*, Lyfimachus in Thrace and the *north*, Ptolemy in Egypt and the *south*, and Seleucus in Syria and the *east*.

But though the kingdom of Alexander was divided into four principal parts, yet only two of them have a place allotted in this prophecy, Egypt, and Syria. These two were by far the greatest and most considerable : and these two at one time were in a manner the only remaining kingdoms of the four ; the † kingdom of Macedon having been conquered by Lyfimachus and annexed to Thrace ; and ‖ Lyfimachus again having been conquered by Seleucus, and the kingdoms of Macedon and Thrace annexed to Syria. These two likewise continued distinct kingdoms, after the others were swallowed up by the power of the Romans. But there is a more proper and peculiar reason for enlarging upon these two particularly ; ¶ because Judea lying between them was sometimes in the possession of the kings of Egypt, and sometimes of the kings of Syria ; and it is the purpose of holy scripture, to interweave only so much of foreign affairs, as hath some relation to the Jews : and it is in respect of their situation to Judea, that the kings of Egypt and Syria are called the king of the *south* and the *north*. 'And the king of the south shall be strong,' ver. 5. and one of his princes, 'that is Alexander's princes, 'and he he shall be strong above

* — quoad Alexandro justus heres. fuit. Justin ibid.

† Justin Lib. 16. Cap. 3. Plutarch in Pyrrho. p. 39. Edit. Paris 1644. Pausanias in Attic. sive Lib. 1. Cap. 10. p. 24. Edit. Kunii.

‡ Justin. Lib. 17. Cap. 1. et 2. Appian. de Bell. Syr. p. 128. Edit. Steph. 207. Edit. Tollii, Memnonis Excerpta apud Photiam. p. 9. p. 714. Edit. Rothom. 1653.

¶ Idcirco autem caetera regna dimittiens. Macedoniz videlicet Mac. tantum de Egypti et Syriac narrans regibus tenebatur. scripturae sanctae propositum est, non externam abque illi historiam texere; sed eam quae Israeli populo copulata. in locum. Col. 1122. Edit. Benedict.

above him.' There is manifestly either some redundance, or some defect * in the Hebrew copy : which should be rendered as it is † by the Seventy, *And the king of the south shall be strong, and one of his princes shall be strong above him* : or perhaps may better be rendered thus ; *And the king of the south shall be strong, and one of his princes ; and the king of the north shall be strong above him, and have dominion ; his dominion shall be a great dominion.* The ' king of the south ' was indeed very strong ; for ‡ Ptolemy had annexed, Cyprus, Phœnicia, Caria and many other islands and cities, and regions to Egypt, as Jerome here commemorates out of the ancients. He had likewise enlarged the bounds of the empire, as || Justin testifies, by the acquisition of Cyrene, and was now become so great, that he was in a condition not so much to fear, as to be feared by his enemies. But still the king of the north, or Seleucus Nicator, was ' strong above him ; ' for having annexed, as we have seen, the kingdoms of Macedon and Thrace to the crown of Syria, he was become master of three parts out of four of Alexander's dominions. All historians agree in representing him not only as the longest liver of Alexander's successors, but likewise as ¶ the conqueror of the conquerors. Appian in particular † enumerates the nations which he subdued, and the cities which he built, and affirms that after Alexander he possessed the largest part of Asia ; for all was subject to him from Phrygia up to the river Indus, and beyond it ; and

* Either the γ in $\gamma\alpha\mu\gamma$ is redundant, or the words מלך נצח are wanting.

† $\text{Και ος των αρχων αυτου ενισχυσει εν αυτον. Sept.}$

‡ —ad Ægyptum adjecerat Cyprum, Phœnicen, Cariam, aliasque insulas et regiones, ut his ex antiquis commemorat Hieronymus, Grot. The words in Jerome are, ' et multas insulas urbisque et regiones.'

|| —terminos quoque imperii acquisita Cyrene urbe ampliaverat, factusque jam tantus erat, ut non tam timeret quam timendus ipse hostibus esset. Ju* in Lib. 13. Crp. 6.

¶ —victoremque victorum extitisse—Justin Lib. 17. Cap. 2.

† Appian. de Bell. Syr. p. 19. Edit. Steph. p. 107. Edit. Tollii. $\text{ὡς ἄρ' ἐστὶ τῷδε μαλιστα μίση Ἀλεξάνδρῳ ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ το πλεον. ἀπὸ γὰρ θύον γινεσθαι ἐπὶ ποταμῶν Ἰνδου αὐτοῦ. πάντα Σιλυαίῳ κατήκεν· καὶ τὸν Ἰνδὸν περάσας, κ. τ. λ. quo excepto (Alexandro) nemo unquam plures terras in Asia tenuit ; nam a Phrygiæ terminis Indum usque Mediterraneæ Seleuco parabant omnia ; et hoc quæque trajecto, &c. Vide etiam p. 201. Edit. Tollii.$

and * afterwards he denominates him expressly, "the greatest king of Alexander."

Seleucus Nicator, † having reigned seven months after the death of Lyfimachus, over the kingdoms of Macedonia, Thrace, and Syria, was basely murdered; and to him succeeded in the throne of Syria his son Antiochus Soter, and to Antiochus Soter succeeded his son Antiochus Theus. At the same time Ptolemy Philadelphus reigned in Egypt after his father, the first Ptolemy, the son of Lagus. There were frequent wars between the kings of Egypt, and Syria. There were so particularly between Ptolemy Philadelphus the second king of Egypt, and Antiochus the third king of Syria. 'And in the end of years they shall join themselves together; for the king's daughter of the south shall come to the king of the north to make an agreement: but she shall not retain the power of the arm, neither shall she stand, nor his arm; but she shall be given up, and they that brought her, and he that begat her, and he that strengthened her in these times,' ver. 6. 'And in the end of years,' that is after several years; for these wars lasted long, ‡ Jerome reports out of the ancients, and Antiochus Theus fought against Ptolemy Philadelphus with all the forces of Babylon and the east. 'They shall join themselves together,' or 'shall associate themselves.' At length they agreed to make peace upon condition, that || Antiochus Theus should put away his former wife Laodice and her two sons, and should marry Berenice the daughter of Ptolemy Philadelphus. 'For the king's daughter of the south shall come to the king of the north to make rights'

or

* — βασιλεὺς τῶν τῶν Ἀλεξάνδρου μέγιστος — regem post Alexandrum maximum, p. 128. Edit. Steph. p. 207. Edit. Tolii.

† Quippe post menses admodum septem; &c. Justin. Lib. 17. Cap. 2. Sect. 4. p. 351. Edit. Graevii. Appian. de Bell. Syr.

‡ Iste adversus Ptolemæum Philadelphum, qui secundus imperabat Ægyptis, gessit bella quam plurima: et totis Babylonis atque orientis viribus dimicavit. Hieron. Comment. in locum. Col. 123. vol. 4. Edit. Benedict.

|| Volens itaque Ptolemæus Philadelphus post multos annos bellum finire certamen, filiam suam nomine Berenicen, Antiochum dedit; qui de priore uxore nomine Laodice, habebat filios, &c. Hieron. ibid.

or 'an agreement;' and accordingly * Ptolemy Philadelphus brought his daughter to Antiochus Theus, and with her an immense treasure, so that he received the appellation of *the dowry-giver*. 'But she shall not retain the power of the arm,' that is her interest and power with Antiochus; for † after some time, in a fit of love, he brought back his former wife Laodice with her children to court again. 'Neither shall he stand, nor his arm,' or 'his seed;' for ‡ Laodice fearing the fickle temper of her husband, lest he should recal Berenice, caused him to be poisoned; and neither did his seed by Berenice succeed him in the kingdom, but Laodice contrived and managed matters so, as to fix her elder son Seleucus Callinicus on the throne of his ancestors. 'But she shall be given up;' for Laodice not content with poisoning her husband, § caused also Berenice to be murdered. 'And they that brought her;' for her § Egyptian women and attendants, endeavouring to defend her, were many of them slain with her. 'And he that begat her,' or rather as it is in the margin, 'he whom she brought forth;' for ¶ the son was murdered as well as the mother, by order of Laodice. 'And he that strengthend her in these times;' her husband Antiochus, as † Jerome conceives: or those who took her part and defended her; or rather her father who died a little before, and was so very fond of her, ‡ that he took care continually to send her fresh supplies

* Deduxitque eam usque Pelusium; et infinita auri et argenti millia, dotis nomine dedit: Unde *φεινοφωρος*, id est *dotalis* appellatus est. Hieron. *ibid*.

† —post multum temporis amore superatus, Laodicem cum liberis suis reduxit in regiam. Hieron. *ibid*.

‡ Quæ metuens ambiguum virainimumne Berenicen reduceret, virum per ministros veneno interfecit, &c. Hieron. *ibid*. Appian. de Bell. Syr. p. 130. Edit. Steph. p. 211. Edit. Tollii. Valer. Maximus, Lib. 9. Cap. 14. Plin. Lib. 7. Sect. 10. Edit. Harduini.

§ Hieron. *ibid*. Appian. *ibid* Polyænie. Strat. Lib. 8. Cap. 50.

¶ Hieron. *ibid*. αὐτὴ δὲ ἀμφ' αὐτοῦ γυναικες ὑπερασπίευσαι προσπαθούσαι αὐτῷ πλεονεξήσαν. Quæ vero circa eam erant mulieres defensionem parantes, plurimæ ceciderunt. Polyænus *ibid*. p. 801. Edit. Maafvicii.

¶ Hieron. *ibid* Appian. *ibid* Polyæn. *ibid*. Justin. Lib. 27. Cap. 1.

‡ Rex quoque Antiochus qui confortabat eam, hoc est, per quem poterat praevalere, veneno uxoris occisus est. Hieron. *ibid*.

† Καὶ ὁ τῆς Λαοδικῆς βασιλεὺς διωτὴρ, ὁ φιλαδέλφους ἐπικλῆναι, ἐκείνη αὐτὴ θυγάτηρ Βερενίκης Ἀντιόχου τοῦ Συρίας βασιλέως, καὶ ἐκείνη αὐτὴ τὴν ἀπὸ τοῦ Νεβύλδου ὕδωρ, ἵνα μὴν τότε τὴν πόλιν ἢ καὶ τὴν

plices of the water of the Nile, thinking it better for her to drink of that than of any other river, as Polybius relates.

But such wickedness should not pass unpunished and unrevenged. 'But out of a branch of her root shall one stand up in his estate,' or rather as it is translated * in the Vulgar Latin, 'out of a branch of her root shall stand up a plant; and he shall come with an army, and shall enter into the fortresses or the fenced cities 'of the king of the north, and shall deal,' shall act 'against them and shall prevail: And shall also carry captives into Egypt, their gods with their princes,' or rather † 'their gods with their molten images, and with their precious vessels of silver and of gold, and he shall continue more years than the king of the north,' or more literally 'he shall continue some years after the king of the north. So the king of the south shall come into his kingdom, and shall return into his own land,' ver. 7, 8, 9. This 'branch,' which sprung 'out of the same root' with Berenice, was Ptolemy Euergetes her brother, who no sooner succeeded his father Ptolemy Philadelphus in the kingdom, than ‡ 'he came with a great army, and entered into the provinces of the king of the north,' that is of Seleucus Callinicus, who with his mother Laodice reigned in Syria: and he 'acted against them,' and 'prevailed' so far, that he took Syria and Cilicia, and the upper parts beyond

Euphrates,

αὐτὸς ἵσταντο Πολυβίου: Ptolemaeus secundus Ægypti rex, cognomine Philadelphus, cum filiam Berenicen Antiocho regi Syriae nuptum dedisset, mittendam ad ipsam Nilj aquam sedulo curavit, ut eam solam gnata biberet, quod Polybius scripsit. Athenæus Lib. 2. p. 45. Edit. Casaubon.

* Et stabit de germine radicem ejus planatio. Vulg.

† Deos eorum et sculptilia. Vulg. *οὗς θεοὺς καὶ τὰν μετὰ τὸν χρόνον αὐτῶν.* Sept. deos eorum simulacris eorum. Arab.

‡ —de plantatione et de germine radicis ejus, e quod esset germanus: et venit cum exercitu magno, et ingressus est provinciam regis aquilonis, id est Seleuci cognomento Callinici, qui cum matre Laodice regnabat in Syria: et abusus est eis; et obtinuit, in tantum ut Syriam caperet, et Ciliciam, superioresque partes trans Euphrate nec propemodum universam Asiam. Quumque audisset in Ægypto seditionem moveri, diripiens regnum Seleuci quadraginta milia talentorum argenti tulit, et vasa pretiosa simulacraque decorum quo milia quingenta: in quibus erant, et illa quæ Cambyfes capta Ægypto, in Persas portaverat. Denique egens Ægyptiorum plebs patriæ dedita, quia post multos annos deos eorum retulerat, cum appellavit. Hieron. ibid.

Euphrates, and almost all Asia. And when he had heard that a sedition was raised in Egypt, he plundered the kingdom of Selencus, and took forty thousand talents of 'silver,' and 'precious vessels,' and 'images of the gods,' two thousand and five hundred: among which were also those which Cambyfes, after he had taken Egypt, had carried into Persia. And for thus restoring their gods after many years, the Egyptians, who were a nation much addicted to idolatry, complimented him with the title of *Euergetes* or *the benefactor*. This is Jerome's account, extracted from ancient historians: but there are authors still extant, who confirm several of the same particulars. Appian informs us, that † Laodice having killed Antiochus, and after him both Berenice and her child, Ptolemy the son of Philadelphus to revenge these murders invaded Syria, slew Laodice, and proceeded as far as to Babylon. From Polybius we learn, that ‡ Ptolemy surnamed Euergetes, being greatly incensed at the cruel treatment of his sister Berenice, marched with an army into Syria, and took the city of Seleucia, which was kept for some years afterwards by the garrisons of the kings of Egypt. Thus did he enter into the fortress of the king of the north.' Polyænus affirms that || Ptolemy made himself master of all the country from mount Taurus as far as to India without war or battle: but he ascribes it by mistake to the father instead of the son. Justin asserts, that § if Ptolemy had not been recal-

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† και αυτον κτελει Λαοδικην, και επ' αυτην Βερνικην τι και το Βερνικης βριφος. και Πτολεμαιος ο του Φιλαδελφου ταυτα τινωμινος, Λαοδικην τι κτελει, και εις Συριαν ενδουλι, και εις Βαβυλωνια ιλασι. Laodice ipsum interfecit, et mo. Bereniceam cum infantulo. Eam injuriam Ptolemæus Philadelphii filius, ut ulcisceretur, de Laodice sumpsit supplicium, et ingressus Syriam, Babylonem usque pervenit. Appian. de Bell. Syr. p. 130. Edit. Steph. p. 211. Edit. Toliu.

‡ Συνδουλι γαρ Σελευκειαν οτι τοτε καταχισθαι φερεται υπό των εξ Αιγυπτου βασιλειων, ει τον πατρα τον Ευιργασην επηληθιντα Πτολεμαιον καιρον, αν εις κεινος δια τα Βερνικης συμβασιματα, και την υπερ κεινης οργην, στρατησας εις ταυτατα Συριας τοτες, ερηκτας ερηκτο παυτης της πολιος. Adhuc illa tempestate regum Ægypti præliis tenebatur seleucia, jam inde ab illis temporibus, cum Ptolemæus cognomento Euergetes, propter causam Bereniceæ Seleuco regni iratus bello Syriam illato, ea urbe est potitus, Polyb. Lib. 5. p. 402. 403. Edit. Casaubon.

|| απο του Ταυρου μεχρι της Ινδουης χωρης, πολιν και μαχης επεκτηθη. Ptoleus usque ad Indiam absque bello ac pugna superavit. Polyæni Strat. Lib. 8. p. 802. Edit. Mansueti.

§ Ουδ' οτις εις Ελληνικον domesticum seditione commotus esset, το-

ed by a domestic sedition into Egypt, he would have possessed the whole kingdom of Seleucus. 'So the king of the south came into the kingdom of the north, and then returned into his own land.' He likewise 'continued more years than the king of the north;' for Seleucus Callinicus * died in exile of a fall from his horse, and Ptolemy Eurgetes † survived him about four or five years.

But his sons, that is the sons of the king of the north, should endeavour to vindicate and avenge the cause of their father and their country. But his sons shall be stirred up, and shall assemble a multitude of great forces; and one shall certainly come, and overflow, and pass through; then shall he return, and be stirred up even to his fortress. ver. 10. The sons of Seleucus Callinicus were ‡ Seleucus and Antiochus; the elder of whom, Seleucus, succeeded him in the throne, and to distinguish him from others of the same name, was denominated *Ceraunus* or *the thunderer*. Where by the way one cannot help observing the ridiculous vanity of princes in assuming or receiving such pompous appellations without deserving them. Seleucus the father was surnamed *Callinicus* or *the famous conqueror*, though he was so far from gaining any considerable victory that he was shamefully beaten by the Egyptians in the west, and was made a prisoner by the Parthians in the east. In like manner Seleucus the son was called *Ceraunus* or *the thunderer*, though he was so far from performing any thing worthy of the name, that he was a poor and weak prince in all respects in mind and body and estate. Great and splendid titles, when improperly applied, are rather a satire and insult upon the persons, than any honour or commendation. Seleucus Ceraunus was indeed 'stirred up, and assembled a multitude of great forces,' in order to recover his father's dominions: but || being destitute of money,

* Justin. Lib. 27. Cap. 3.

† See Usher, Prideaux, Blair, and other chronologers.

‡ Post fugam et mortem Seleuci Callinici, duo filii ejus Seleucus cognomento Ceraunus, et Antiochus qui appellatus est Magnus, &c. Hieron. in locum. Col. 224. vol. 3. Edit. Benedict. Polyb. Lib. 4. p. 315. Edit. Casaubon. Appian de Bell. Syr. p. 131. Edit. Steph. p. 221. Edit. Tollii.

|| *ἔχων μὲν δὲ, ἀσθενὲς εἰς οὐκ καὶ πικρὴν, καὶ θυρωδὲς τοῖς στρατοῖς, οὐδὲν αἰ φιλῶν διὰ παλαιότητα, καὶ ἐν τῇ δυνάμει ἐλαττωμένη, nec valetudine firmus nec opibus, exercitum inofficio condere.*

money, and unable to keep his army in obedience, he was poisoned by two of his generals, after an inglorious reign of two or three years. Upon his decease his brother Antiochus Magnus was proclaimed king, who was more deserving of the title of *great*, than Seleucus was that of *the thunderer*. The prophet's expression is very * remarkable, that his ' sons should be stirred up, and assemble a multitude of great forces ; but then the number is changed, and only ' one should certainly come, and overflow, and pass through.' Accordingly † Antiochus came with a great army, retook Seleucia, and by the means of Theodotus the Ætolian recovered Syria, making himself master of some places by treaty, and of others by force of arms. Then ‡ after a truce, wherein both sides treated of peace, but prepared for war, Antiochus returned, and overcame in battle Nicolaus the Egyptian general, and had thoughts of invading Egypt itself.

The king of Egypt at that time was Ptolemy Philopator, who was § advanced to the crown upon the death of his father Euergetes, not long after Antiochus Magnus succeeded his brother in the throne of Syria. This Ptolemy was ¶ a most luxurious and vicious prince, but was roused at length by the nearer approach of danger. ' And the king of the south shall be moved with choler, and

VOL. II.

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shall

continere non potuit, venens sublatu purpuratorum perfidia, post exactum regni annum alteram. Appian. ibid. Quenique Seleucus major frater, tertio anno imperii esset occisus in Phrygia, per dolum Nicanoris et Apaturii, &c. Hieron. ibid. Polyb. ibid.

* Et propterea nunc infert, quod duo quidem filii provocati sunt, et congregaverunt, multitudinem exercituum plurimorum : sed quod unus Antiochus Magnus venerit de Babylone in Syriam, &c. Hieron. ibid.

† Polyb. Lib. 5. p. 403, &c. Hieron. ibid.

‡ Polyb. ib. p. 411, &c. Quenique pugnasset adversum duces ejus in proditione Theodoti obtenuisset Syriam, quæ per successionem jam a regibus Ægypti tenebatur, in tantam venit audaciam contenta luxuria Philopatoris—ut ultro Ægyptiis bellum conaretur inferre. Hieron. ibid. Antiochus rex Syriæ, veteri inter se regnorum odio stimulante, repentino bello multas urbes ejus (Ptolemæi) oppressit, ipsamque Ægyptum aggreditur. Justin. Lib. 30. Cap. 1.

§ Ptolemæus in Can. Eusebius in Chron. Usher, Prideaux, and the Chronologers.

¶ Polyb. Lib. 5. p. 380. &c. Edit. Casaubon. Strabo, Lib. 17. p. 796. Edit. Paris. 1620. p. 114^b. Edit. Amstel. 1707. Plutarch in Cleomene. p. 820. Edit. Paris 1624. Justin. Lib. 30. Cap. 1.

shall come forth and fight with him, even with the king of the north : and he shall set forth a great multitude, but the multitude shall be given into his hand.' ver. 11. Ptolemy Philopator was no doubt ' moved with choler' for the losses which he had sustained, and for the revolt of Theodotus and others. And he ' came forth ;' he † marched out of Egypt with a numerous army to oppose the enemy, and encamped not far from Raphia, which is the nearest town to Egypt from Rhinocorura. And there he ' fought with him, even with the king of the north ;' for thither likewise † came Antiochus with his army, and a memorable battle was fought by the two kings. ' And he,' the king of the north, ' set forth a great multitude ;' Polybius hath ‡ recited the various nations of which Antiochus's army was composed, and altogether it amounted to sixty-two thousand foot, six thousand horse, and 102 elephants. But yet ' the multitude was given into his hand,' that is into the hands of the king of the south ; for || Ptolemy obtained a complete victory : and of Antiochus's army there were slain not much fewer than ten thousand foot, more than three hundred horse, and above four thousand men were taken prisoners ; whereas of Ptolemy's there were killed only fifteen hundred foot, and seven hundred horse. Upon this defeat § Raphia and the neighbouring towns contended who should be most

* Polyb. *ibid.* p. 421, 422. Hieron. *ibid.*

† Polyb. *ibid.* p. 423, 424. Strabo, Lib. 16. p. 759. Edit. Paris. 1620. p. 1102. Edit. Amstel. 1707. Hieron. *ibid.*

‡ Polyb. *ibid.* 421, 422. Και της μην Αντιοχου δυναμειως το πληθος ην, πεζοι μιν εξηκισμυριοι και δισχιλιοι, συν δε ταυταις ιππεις εξακισχιλιοι, Σπρια δε δυσι πλεον των εκατον. Summa totius exercitus Antiochi ; peditum duo et septuaginta (sexaginta) millia ; equitum sex ; elephantum duo supra centum.

|| *ἥσαν δὲ οἱ τετελευτηκόντες τῶν παρὰ Ἀντιόχῳ πεζοὶ μὲν οὐ πολὺ λοιπόν-τις μυρίων, ἱππεὺς δὲ πλείους τριακοντίων· ζώνοντες δὲ ἑλάσαν ὑπὲρ τῆς τρι-κισχίλιος· τῶν δὲ παρὰ Πτολεμαίῳ πεζοὶ μὲν εἰς χίλιους καὶ πεντακοσίους τετελευτήσαν, ἱππεὺς δὲ εἰς ἑπτακοσίους.* Desideravit autem e suis Antiochus non multo pauciores decem millibus peditum : equites trecentos et eo plures : capti sunt vivi supra quatuor millia.—E Ptolemaeis occisi sunt pedites mille et quingenti : equites Septingenti Polyb. *ibid.* p. 427. Initio ergo certamine juxta oppidum Raphiam, quod in foribus Aegypti est, omnem Antiochus amisit exercitum Hieron. *ibid.*

¶ Polyb. *ib.* p. 427. 428. Quumque cessisset Syria ad extremum se, et quibusdam conditionibus pugna finita, est. Hieron. *ibid.*

most forward to submit to the conqueror; and Antiochus was forced to retreat with his shattered army to Antioch, and from thence sent ambassadors to solicit a peace.

Ptolemy Philopator was more fortunate in gaining a victory, than prudent in knowing how to make a proper advantage of it. ‘And when he hath taken away the multitude, his heart shall be lifted up, and he shall cast down many ten thousands; but he shall not be strengthened by it,’ ver. 12. If Ptolemy had pursued the blow that he had given, it is * reasonably presumed that he might have deprived Antiochus of his kingdom: but ‘his heart was lifted up’ by his success; being delivered from his fears, he now more freely indulged his lusts; and after a few menaces and complaints he granted peace to Antiochus, that he might be no more interrupted in the gratification of his appetites and passions. He had before † murdered his father, and his mother, and his brother; and now ‡ he killed his wife, who was also his sister; and § gave himself up entirely to the management of Agathoclea his harlot, and her brother Agathocius who was his catamite, and their mother Oenante who was his bawd. And ¶ so forgetful of all the greatness of his name and majesty, he consumed his days in feasting, and his nights in lewdness; and became not only the spectator, but the master and leader of all wickedness. And what availed it to have conquered his enemies, when he was thus overcome by his vices; he was so far from being *strengthened* by it, that even ¶ his own subjects, offended at his inglorious peace, and more inglorious life, rebelled against him. But the prophet in this passage alluded more particularly to the case of his own countrymen. After the retreat of Antiochus, Ptolemy * visited the cities of Coele-Syria and Palestine, which had submitted to him

G 2

and

* Justin. Lib. 30. Cap. 1. — *Ipso lassctque regno Antiochum, si fortunam virtute juvisset.* Polyb. Lib. 5. p. 428. Edit. Cataubon.

† Justin. Lib. 29. Cap. 1. Polyb. Lib. 5. p. 380, 382.

‡ Justin. Lib. 30. Cap. 1. Polyb. Lib. 1. 15. p. 710.

§ Putarch in Cleomene, p. 820. Edit. Paris. 1624. Polyb. Lib. 15. passim. Justin. Lib. 30. Cap. 1, en. 1.

¶ Atque ita omnem magnitudinem nominis ac majestatis oblitus noctes in stupris, dies in conviviiis consumit— nec jam spectator rex, sed magister nequitie. Justin. ibid. Cap. 1.

¶ Polyb. Lib. 5. p. 444.

• For these particulars the 3d book of Maccabees must be consulted.

and among others in his progress he came to Jerusalem. He there offered sacrifices, and was desirous of entering into the holy of holies, contrary to the custom and religion of the place, being, (as the * writer of the third book of Maccabees says), greatly lifted up by pride and confidence. His curiosity was restrained with great difficulty, and he departed with heavy displeasure against the whole nation of the Jews. At his return therefore to Alexandria, he began a cruel persecution upon the Jewish inhabitants of that city, who had resided there from the time of Alexander, and enjoyed the privileges of the most favoured citizens. 'And he cast down many ten thousands;' for it appears from † Eusebius, that about this time forty thousand Jews were slain, or sixty thousand as they are reckoned in Jerome's Latin interpretation. No king could be *strengthened* by the loss of such a number of useful subjects. The loss of so many Jews, and the rebellion of the Egyptians, added to the male-administration of the state, must certainly very much weaken, and almost totally ruin the kingdom.

Peace was to continue between the two crowns of Egypt and Syria for some years, and then the king of the north should attempt another invasion. 'For the king of the north shall return, and shall set forth a multitude greater than the former, and shall certainly come, after certain years,' (at the end of times, that is years), 'with a great army, and with much riches,' ver. 13. The following events, you see, were not to take place till 'after certain years;' and the peace continued between the two crowns ‡ about fourteen years. In that time Ptolemy Philopator § died of intemperance and debauchery, and was succeeded by his son Ptolemy Epiphanes, a child of four or five years old. Antiochus too, ¶ having taken and slain the rebel Achæus, and having ¶ also reduced and settled the

* ὕβρις καὶ θράσος μεγάλως ἐσηρμίνον. 3 Macc. II. 21.

† Ἰουδαίαι ληφθέντες, τίσσασαν ἑκὼντα χιλιάδας ὁσίων ἀναποδόλαρται. Euseb. Chron. p. 185. Victi Judæi: et LX millia armatorum ex numero eorum caesa. Interprete Hieron. p. 143.

‡ See Usher, Prideaux and the Chronologers.

§ Ptolem. in Canone, Eusebius, Justin. Lib. 30. Chap. 2. Heron. &c.

¶ Polyb. Lib. 8. p. 522, etc. Edit. Casaubon.

¶ Appian. Lib. 19, et 11. Appian. de Bell. Syr. in principio.

the eastern parts in their obedience, was at leisure to prosecute any enterprize, and could not let slip so favourable an opportunity of extending his dominions. He had acquired great riches, and collected many forces in his eastern expedition; so that he was enabled to 'set forth a greater multitude than the former, and he doubted not to have an easy victory over an infant king. Polybius expressly informs us, that * from the king of Bactria and from the king of India he received so many elephants as made up his number 150, besides provisions and riches. Jerome out of ancient authors affirms, that † he gathered together an incredible army out of the countries beyond Babylon; and contrary to the league he marched with this army, Ptolemy Philopator being dead, against his son, who was then four years old, and was called Ptolemy Epiphanes, or the illustrious. Justin also says, that ‡ Ptolemy Philopator king of Egypt being dead, in contempt of the childhood of his son, who being left heir to the kingdom was a prey even to his domestics, Antiochus king of Syria was resolved to take possession of Egypt; as if the thing were as easily executed, as resolved.

But Antiochus was not the only one who rose up against young Ptolemy. Others also confederated with him. 'And in those times there shall many stand up against the king of the south: also the robbers of thy people shall exalt themselves to establish the vision, but they shall fall,' ver. 14. Agathocles || was in possession of the young king's person; and he was so dissolute and proud in the exercise of his power, that the provinces which before were subject to Egypt rebelled, and Egypt

G 3

itself.

* *Και λαβὼν ἐλεφαντας, ὥστε γινώσκειν τὴν ἀπάντων εἰς ἑκάστην καὶ πενήτηκοντα.*
 α. σ. λ. ibi quoque elephantos alios accepit, ut jam centum quinquaginta bestias haberet, &c. Polyb. Lib. 11. p. 65.

† —Incredibilem de superioribus locis Babylonis exercitum congregavit. Et Ptolemaeo Philopatore mortuo adversum filium eius, qui tunc quatuor annorum erat, et vocabatur Ptolemaeus *Ἐπιφανής*, rupto foedere movit exercitum. Hieron. in locum. Col. 1124.

‡ Mortuo Ptolemaeo Philopatore rege Ægypti, contemptaque parvuli filii ejus ætate, qui in spem regni relictus prædæ etiam domesticis erat, Antiochus rex Syriæ occupare Ægyptum statuit. Justin. Lib. 31. Cap. 1.

|| Polyb. Lib. 15. p. 712, &c. Edit. Casaubon. Tantæ enim dissolutionis et superbiæ Agathocles fuit, ut subdidato prius Ægypto provinciae rebellarent; ipsaque Ægyptus seditionibus vexaretur. Hieron. Justin. Lib. 30. Cap. 1.

itself was disturbed by seditions; and the people of Alexandria rose up in a body against Agathocles, and caused him, and his sister, and mother, and their associates, to be put to death. Philip too * the king of Macedon entered into a league with Antiochus, to divide Ptolemy's dominions between them, and each to take the parts which lay nearest and most convenient to him. And this is the meaning, as † Jerome concludes, of the prophet's saying, that many shall rise up together against the king of the south. 'Also the robbers of thy people.' It is literally ‡ 'the sons of the breakers,' the sons of the revolvers, the factious and refractory ones, 'of thy people;' for the Jews were at that time 'broken' into factions, part adhering to the king of Egypt, and part to the king of Syria: but the majority were for 'breaking away' from their allegiance to Ptolemy. In the Vulgate it is || translated, *the sons also of the prevaricators of thy people*; in the Septuagint, *the sons of the pestilent ones of thy people*. What shall they do? 'shall exalt themselves to establish the vision:' shall revolt from Ptolemy, and thereby shall contribute greatly, without their knowing it, towards the accomplishment of this prophecy concerning the calamities, which should be brought upon the Jewish nation by the succeeding kings of Syria. That the Jews revolted from Ptolemy is evident from what Jerome affirms, that § the provinces which before were subject to Egypt rebelled: and ¶ heathen authors intimate, that Antiochus took possession of the cities of Coele-Syria and Palestine without any opposition, at least they do not mention any. 'But they shall fall;' for

Scopas

*Philippus quoque rex Macedonum, et magnus Antiochus pace facta, adversum Agathoclen et Ptolemaeum Epiphanem dimecerent, sub hac conditione, ut proximas civitates regno suo singuli de regno Ptolemaei jungerent. Hieron. *ibid.* Polyb. Lib. 3. p. 159. Lib. 13. p. 707. *Idem* *ibid.*

† Et hoc est quod nunc dicit multos consurgere adversus regem Aultri, Ptolemaeum scilicet Epiphanem, qui erat aetate puerili. Hieron. *ibid.*

‡ רבני בנייך. Vide 1 Sam. xxv 10.

|| Et quoque prevaricatorum populi tui. Vulg. *ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ λαοῦ σου*. Sept.

§ — ut subditae prius Aegypto provinciae rebellarent. Hieron. *ibid.*

¶ Appian dē Bell. Syr. in principio

* Scopas came with a powerful army from Ptolemy, and Antiochus being engaged in other parts, soon reduced the cities of Cœle-Syria and Palestine to their former obedience. He subdued the Jews in the winter season, placed a garrison in the castle of Jerusalem, and returned with great spoils to Alexandria; for he was † noted above all men for his avarice and rapacity. The expression of Josephus is remarkable, that ‡ the Jews submitted to Scopas by force, but to Antiochus they submitted willingly.

It was in the absence of Antiochus, that these advantages were obtained by the arms of Egypt, but his presence soon turned the scale, and changed the whole face of affairs. ‘So the king of the north shall come, and cast up a mount, and take the most fenced cities, or the city of munitions, and the arms of the south shall not withstand, neither his chosen people, neither shall there be any strength to withstand. But he that cometh against him shall do according to his own will, and none shall stand before him: and he shall stand in the glorious land, which by his hand shall be consumed,’ ver. 15, and 16. Antiochus || being willing to recover Judea, and the cities of Cœle-Syria, and Palestine, which Scopas had taken, came again into those parts. Scopas was sent again to oppose him, and Antiochus fought with him near the sources of the river Jordan, destroyed a great part of his army, and pursued him to Sidon, where he shut him up with ten thousand men, and closely besieged him. Three famous generals were sent from Egypt to raise the siege; but they could not succeed, and at length Scopas was forced

* Hieron. Col. 1125. Polyb. apud. Joseph. et Joseph. Antiq. Lib. 12. Cap. 3. Sect. 3. p. 520, 521. Edit. Hudson.

† Polyb. Lib. 17. p. 773.

‡ *πολεμωμενον γαρ αυτην προσεδωκε*, oppugnata enim, in ejus partes concessit, *ικουσις αυτην προσεδωκε* Iudæis. Judæi ultro deditionem fecerunt. Joseph. ibid.

|| Antiochus enim volens Judæam recuperare, et Syriæ urbes plurimas, Scopam ducem Ptolemæi juxta fontes Jordanis, ubi nunc Paneas condita est, initio certamine fugavit, et cum decem millibus armatorum obsedit clausam in Sidone. Ob quem liberandum misit Ptolemaus duces inclytos Eropam, et Menoclem, et Damoxenum. Sed obsidionem solvere non potuit: donec fame superatus Scopas manus dedit, et nudus cum sociis dimissus est. Hieron. ibid. Joseph. ibid. Valesii Excerpta ex Polyb. p. 77, &c.

forced by famine to surrender upon the hard conditions of having life only granted to him and his men; they were obliged to lay down their arms, and were sent away stript and naked. This event, I conceive, was principally intended by his 'casting up a mount, and taking the city of munitions;' for Sidon was an exceeding strong city in its situation and fortifications. But if we take the phrase more generally, as our translators understand it, Antiochus, after the success of this battle and of this siege, reduced other countries and took other 'fenced cities,' which are mentioned by * Polybius, and recited by Jerome out of the Greek and Roman historians. 'The arms of the south' could 'not withstand' him, 'neither his chosen people,' neither Scopas, nor the other great generals, nor the choicest troops who were sent against him; but he 'did according to his own will, and none' was able 'to stand before him;' for he soon ‡ rendered himself master of all Cœle-Syria and Palestine. Among others || the Jews also readily submitted to him, went forth in solemn procession to meet him, received him splendidly into their city, supplied him with plenty of provisions for all his army and elephants, and assisted him in besieging the garrison, which Scopas had left in the citadel. Thus he 'stood in the glorious land,' and his power was established in Judea. 'Which by his hand shall be consumed:' So this passage is generally understood and translated 'and commentators hereupon observe that § Josephus relates, that, "Antiochus the Great reigning in Asia, the Jews, their country being wasted, suffered many things, as well as the inhabitants of Cœle-Syria."

* Polyb. apud Joseph. ibid. Hieron. ibid.

‡ Liv. Lib. 33. Cap. 19. Justin. Lib. 31. Cap. 1. Polyb. Legat. 72. p. 893.

|| Josephus ibid.

§ Τες γὰρ Ἰουδαίαι, ἐπ' Ἀντιόχῳ τῷ Μεγάλῳ βασιλευσὶ τῆς Ἀσίας, εὐχύνοντο τι πολλὰ ταλαιπωρησθαι τῆς γῆς αὐτῶν κακωμένης καὶ τῆς τῆν Κοίτης Συρίαν νικημένης. πολιορκούντες γὰρ αὐτὴ πρὸς τὸν Εὐπατόρα Πτολεμαῖον, καὶ πρὸς τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ Πτολεμαῖον, τοῦ πληθύνοντος Ἐπιφανῆ, κακοπαθεῖν συνδύναντο αὐτοὶ καὶ νικησθαι, καὶ πῶλιν αὐτοὶ τὰυτὰ πάσχειν. ὥτ' ὅτε ἀπὸ τῆς χειρὸς τοῦ βασιλέως καὶ πονημένης κακωθῆναι ὑπὸ τοῦ κλυδωνοῦ, μὴ μόνον τῆς Ἀντιόχειας, καὶ τῆς ἐν Ἰουδαίᾳ αὐτῇ τροπῆς τῶν πραγμάτων κινηθῆναι Regnante in Asia Antiocho Magno, accidit ut tum Judæi terra eorum vastata, tum qui Cœlen-Syriam incolabant, multa adversa paterentur. Eo enim belligerante adversus Ptolemæum Eupatorem (Alibi constanter

Syria. For Antiochus warring against Ptolemy Philopator, and against his son Ptolemy Epiphanes, it was their fate to suffer, whether he was conqueror, or was beaten, so that they were like a ship tost in a tempest, and lying between both were sure to suffer, which ever side prevailed." But then they could not be said to be *consumed by the hand of Antiochus* particularly, they were consumed as much or more by Scopas : and the word is capable of another interpretation, which agrees as well with the truth of the Hebrew, and better with the truth of history. It may be translated, *Which shall be perfected*, or prosper, or flourish, *in his hand*. The original will well admit of this sense, and the event confirms it. For Antiochus, to reward and encourage the Jews in their fidelity and obedience to him, * gave order that their city should be repaired, and the dispersed Jews should return and inhabit it : that they should be supplied with cattle and other provisions for sacrifices ; that they should be furnished with timber and other materials for finishing and adorning the temple ; that they should live all according to the laws of their country ; that the priests and elders, the scribes and Levites should be exempted from the capitation and other taxes ; that those who then inhabited the city, or should return to it within a limited time should be free from all tribute for three years, and the third part of their tribute should be remitted to them for ever after ; and also that as many as had been taken and forced into servitude, should be released, and their substance and goods be restored to them. Where Grotius remarks, † that what is said about *finishing* and *completing* the temple, answers exactly to the word *perfected* or *consummated* in the Hebrew. Thus also ‡ the Seventy translate it, and thus

Theodoret

constanter Philopatorem eum vocat) et ejus filium cognomine Epiphanem, contigit illis, ut si is superior fuerit, assigerentur, si inferior, plane eadem paterentur : adeo ut haud dissimiles essent navi in tempestate, fluctibus utrinque vexatae, ut qui in medio jacerent, dum et Antiocho res prospere cederent et in contrarias partes mutarentur. Joseph. *ibid*.

* Vide Epist. Antiochi apud Joseph. *ibid*.

† Ubi *απαρτισθῆναι* est quod hic *תלכ* quod alibi per *συντελεῖν* (consummare) alibi per *τελεῖν* (finire) aut *πληρῆν* (implere) ver-
bunt I.XX. Grot. in locum.

• ‡ *Και τελεσθήσεται ἐν τῇ χειρὶ αὐτοῦ*. Sept.

* Theodoret explains it ; “ *And it shall be perfected by his hand, that is, it shall prosper ; for so likewise Josephus hath taught us in his history, that the Jews of their own accord having received Antiochus, were greatly honoured by him.*”

Antiochus the Great, like other ambitious princes, the more he attained, aspired the more to conquest and dominion. ‘ He shall also set his face to enter with the strength of his whole kingdom, and upright ones with him : thus shall he do, and he shall give him the daughter of women corrupting her, or to corrupt her : but she shall not stand on his side, neither be for him,’ ver. 17. ‘ He shall also set his face to enter with the strength of his whole kingdom, or rather, He shall set his face to enter by force the whole kingdom :’ and Antiochus not contented with having rent the principal provinces from Egypt, was forming schemes to seize upon the whole kingdom. ‘ And upright ones with him ; thus shall he do :’ If this translation be right, ‘ the upright ones’ here intended are the Jews, who marched under the banners of Antiochus, and are so denominated to distinguish them from the other idolatrous soldiers. But the † Seventy and the Vulgar Latin exhibit a much more probable translation, that ‘ he shall set things right, or make agreement with him, as the phrase is used before, ver. 6. Antiochus would have seized upon the kingdom of Egypt by force : but as he was || meditating a war with the Romans, he judged it better to proceed by stratagem, and to carry on his designs by treaty rather than by arms. For this purpose ‘ he shall give him the daughter of women,’ his daughter so called as being one of the most eminent and beautiful
of

* Καὶ συντελεισθήσεται ἐν τῇ χειρὶ αὐτοῦ·) Τὴν ἐν ἰουδαίᾳ γίνεται ὅτι γὰρ ἡμᾶς καὶ ἰωσήφου διὰ τῆς ιστορίας ἐδιδάξαν ὅτι αὐτοῖς αὐτοῖς τὸν Ἀντίοχον οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι διέξαμιν σφοδρὰ ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ τιμηθῆσαν. Hoc est prospere ei succedet. Sic enim uos item Josephus docuit in historia. Judæos Antiochō ultro accepto, magno in honore ab illo habitos fuisse. Theod. in locum. vol. 2. p. 687. Edit. Sirmondi.

† Κατὰ συνέθεσιν ὁ Ἀντίοχος πᾶσι, ὡς Αἰγύπτου ἐρημον ἀρχοντας ἀρπάζου-
σι· properavit in Egyptum, ut occuparet orbatam principem.
Appian. de Bell. Syr. p. 88. Edit. Steph. p. 144. Edit. Tolii.
Antiochus rex Syriæ occupare Egyptum statuit. Justin. Lib. 31.
Cap. 1. Vulg.

Καὶ ἰουδαίᾳ πάντα μὲν αὐτὴ ποιήσει. Sept. Et recta faciet cum co-

|| Appian. ibid. p. 145.

of women and accordingly * Antiochus proposed a treaty of marriage by Eucles the Rhodian, betrothed his daughter Cleopatra to Ptolemy in the seventh year of his reign, and married her to him in the thirteenth. He conducted her himself to Raphia, where they were married; and gave in dowry with her the provinces of Cœle-Syria and Palestine, upon condition of the revenues being equally divided between the two kings. All this he transacted with a fraudulent intention, 'to corrupt her,' and induce her to betray her husband's interests to her father. But his designs did not take effect; 'she shall not stand on his part neither be for him. Ptolemy and his generals † were aware of his artifices, and therefore stood upon their guard: and Cleopatra herself affected more the cause of her husband than of her father; insomuch that ‡ she joined with her husband in an embassy to the Romans to congratulate them upon the victories over her father, and to exhort them, after they had expelled him out of Greece, to prosecute the war in Asia, assuring them at the same time that the king and queen of Egypt would readily obey the commands of the senate.

Antiochus having as he thought secured all things behind him engaged in an unhappy war with the Romans; 'After this shall he turn his face unto the isles, and shall take many: but a prince for his own behalf shall cause the reproach offered by him to cease; without his own reproach he shall cause it to turn upon him.' ver. 18. Antiochus || fitted out a formidable fleet of one hundred large ships

* — filiam suam Cleopatram per Euclem Rhodium, septimo anno regni adolescentis, despondit Ptolemæo, et tertio decimo anno tradidit, data ei dotis nomine omni Cœle Syria et Judæa. Hieron. in locum. Col. 1126. Appian ibid. Liv. Lib. 3. Cap. 13. Joseph. Antiq. Lib. 12. Cap. 4. Sect. 1 p. 523 Edit. Hudson.

† Ptolemæus Epiphanes et duces ejus sentientes dolum, cautius se egerunt, et Cleopatra magis viri partes, quam parentes fovit. Hieron. Ibid.

‡ Legati ab Ptolemæo, et Cleopatra, regibus Ægypti gratulantes quod Manlius Acilius consul Antiochum regem Græcia expulisset, venerunt: adhortantesque ut in Asiam exercitum traduceret—regis Ægypti ad ea, quæ censuisset senatus, paratos fore. Liv. Lib. 37. Cap. 3.

|| Liv. Lib. 33 Cap. 19, 20, 38, &c. Appian. de Bell. Syr. p. 86, 89, 93, &c. Edit. Steph. p. 142, 145, 151, &c. Edit. Tollii Hieron. ibid. Aurel. Victor de Viris Illust. Cap. 54. statimque Græciam insulasque ejus occupavit.

ships of war, and two hundred other lesser vessels. With this fleet ' he turned his face unto the isles' of the Mediterranean ; subdued most of the maritime places on the coasts of Asia, Thrace, and Greece ; and took Samos, Eubœa and many other islands. This was a great indignity and reproach offered to the Romans * when their confederates were thus oppressed, and the cities, which they had lately restored to liberty, were enslaved. ' But a prince, or rather a leader, a general, meaning the Roman generals, repelled the injury, ' and caused his reproach to cease.' Acilius the Consul † fought with Antiochus at the straits of Thermopylæ, routed him, and expelled him out of Greece : Livius and Æmilius beat his fleet at sea : and Scipio finally obtained a decisive victory over him in Asia, near the city Magnesia at the foot of mount Zipylus. Antiochus lost fifty thousand foot, and four thousand horse in that day's engagement : fourteen hundred were taken prisoners, and he himself escaped with difficulty. Upon this defeat he || was necessitated to sue for peace, and was obliged to submit to very dishonourable conditions, not to set foot in Europe and to quit all Asia on this side of mount Taurus, to defray the whole charges of the war, &c. and to give twenty hostages for the performance of these articles, one of whom was his youngest son Antiochus afterwards called Epiphanes. By these means || he and his successors became tributary to the Romans : so truly and effectually did they not only ' cause the reproach offered by him to cease,' but greatly to their honour, ' caused it to turn upon him.'

Antiochus did not long survive this disgrace ? and the latter end of his life and reign was as mean, as the former part had been glorious. ' Then shall he turn his face towards the fort of his own land : but he shall stumble and fall, and not be found,' ver. 19. Antiochus after
the

* Appian. de Bell. Syr. p. 87. Edit. Steph. p. 143. Edit. Tollii. Liv. Lib. 33. Cap. 39. Lib. 34. Cap. 38. Polyb. Lib. 12. p. 769. Edit. Casaubon.

† Liv. Lib. 36. et 37. Appian de Bell. Syr. Florus Lib. 2. Cap. 8. Justin. Lib. 31. Cap. 6, 7, 8.

‡ Polyb. Legat. 24. p. 816, 817. Liv. Lib. 37. Cap. 45. Appian. lib. Syr. p. 111, &c. Edit. Steph. p. 178, &c. Edit. Tollii. *Ibid.*

§ Maccab. VIII. 7.

the battle * fled away that night to Sardes, and from thence to Apamea, and the next day he came into Syria, to Antiochus 'the fort of his own land.' It was from thence that he sent ambassadors to sue for peace; and † within a few days after peace was granted, he sent part of the money demanded, and the hostages to the Roman consul at Ephesus. He is ‡ reported indeed to have borne his loss with great equanimity and temper, and said that he was much obliged to the Romans for easing him from a great deal of care and trouble, and for confining him within the bounds of a moderate empire. But whatever he might pretend, he lived in distress and poverty for a great king, being under the greatest difficulties how to raise the money which he had stipulated to pay to the Romans: and his necessity or his avarice prompted him at last to commit sacrilege. He || marched into the eastern provinces, to collect there the arrears of tribute and amass what treasure he could: and attempting to plunder the rich temple of Jupiter Belus in Elymais, he was assaulted by the inhabitants of the country, was defeated, and himself and all his attendants were slain. So Diodorus Siculus, Strabo, Justin, and Jerome relate the manner and circumstances of his death. Aurelius Victor reports it otherwise, and affirms § that he was slain by some of his companions, whom in his liquor he had beaten at a banquet; but his account deserves not so much credit as the concurrent testimony of earlier historians.

Vol. II.

H

However

* Liv. Lib. 37. Cap. 44. Appian de Bell. Syr. p. 210. Edit. Seph. p. 177. Edit. Tollii.

† Polyb. Legat. 24. p. 817. Liv. Lib. 37. Cap. 45.

‡ Cicero pro Deiotaro. Cap. 13. Valerius Maximus, Lib. 4. Cap. 1.

§ Diodor. Sic. in Excerpt. Valesii. p. 292 et 298. Strabo. Lib. 16. p. 744. Edit. Paris 1620. p. 1080. Edit. Amstel. 1707. Interea in Syria rex Antiochus, cum gravi tributo pacis, a Romanis victus, oneratus esset, seu inopia pecunie compulsus, seu avaritia sollicitatus, qua sperabat se, sub specie tributariae necessitatis, excusatus sacrilegia commissurum, adhibito exercitu, nocte templum Elmas Jovis aggreditur. Qua re prodita, concursa insularium, cum omni militia interficitur. Justin. Lib. 32. Victus ergo Antiochus, intra Taurum regnare jussus est; et inde fugit ad Apamiam, ac Susam, et ultimas regni sui penetravit urbes. Quamque adversam Elymaeos pugnaret, cum omni est deletus exercitu. Hieron. ibid.

§ Aurel. Victor de Viris illustr. Cap. 54.

However it was, his death was inglorious, he 'stumbled and fell, and was no more found.'

His successor was far from retrieving the splendour and glory of the nation. 'Then shall stand up in his estate a raiser of taxes in the glory of the kingdom:' or rather according to the original, and as we read in the margin, 'one that causeth an exactor to pass over the glory of the kingdom; but within a few days he shall be destroyed, neither in anger, nor in battle,' ver. 20. Seleucus Philopator succeeded his father Antiochus the Great in the throne of Syria; but as * Jerome affirms, he performed nothing worthy of the empire of Syria and of his father, and perished ingloriously without fighting any battles. As Appian also testifies, he reigned † both idly and weakly, by reason of his father's calamity. He had an inclination to break the peace, and shake off the Roman yoke; but had not the courage to do it. He ‡ raised an army with the intent to march over mount Taurus to the assistance of Pharnaces king of Pontus: but his dread of the Romans confined him at home, within the bounds prescribed to him; and almost as soon as he had raised, he disbanded his army. The tribute of an hundred talents, which he was obliged to pay annually to the Romans, was indeed a grievous burden to him and his kingdom: and he was little more than a 'raiser of taxes' all his days. He was tempted even to commit sacrilege; for || being informed of the money that was deposited in the temple of Jerusalem, he sent his treasurer Heliodorus to seize it. This was literally 'causing an exactor to pass over the glory of the kingdom,' when he sent his treasurer to plunder the temple, which § 'even kings did honour, and magnify, with their best gifts,' and where Seleucus himself, 'of his own revenues, bare all the costs belonging to the service

* Seleucum dicit cognomento Philopatorem filium magni Antiochi, qui nihil dignum Syriae, et patris gessit imperio; et absque ullo pretio ingloriosus perit. *ibid.*

† — *ἀναιδέως ἡμᾶς καὶ ἀδυνατῶν. ὡς τὸν καὶ πατέρα τυμβωρῶν.* Seleucus nec admodum potens, propter cladem quam pater acceperat. Appian. *de Bell. Syr.* p. 131. Edit. Steph. p. 212. Edit. Tollii.

‡ Dio. Sic. in Excerpt. Valerii. p. 302. Usher's Annals, M. 1823 A. C. 187. p. 401.

§ Macc. III. 2. Josephus de Maccabæis. Sect. 4. p. 1395.

[*et* III. 2. 3.]

service of the sacrifice. But within a few days,* or rather, years according to the prophetic stile, he was to 'be destroyed;' and his reign was of short duration in comparison of his father's; for he * reigned only twelve years, and his father thirty-seven. Or perhaps the passage may be better expounded thus, that *within few days or years*, after his attempting to plunder the temple of Jerusalem, he should *be destroyed*: and not long after that, as all chronologers agree, he was 'destroyed neither in anger nor in battle,' neither in rebellion at home, nor in war abroad, but † by the treachery of his own treasurer Heliodorus. The same wicked hand, that was the instrument of his sacrilege, was also the instrument of his death. Seleucus having ‡ sent his only son Demetrius to be an hostage at Rome, instead of his brother Antiochus, and Antiochus being not yet returned to the Syrian court, Heliodorus thought this a fit opportunity to dispatch his master, and in the absence of the next heirs to the crown, to usurp it to himself. But he was disappointed in his ambitious projects, and only made way for another's usurped greatness, instead of his own.

Few circumstances are mentioned relating to Seleucus Philopator; many more particulars are predicted of his brother and successor Antiochus Epiphanes, as he was indeed a more extraordinary person, and likewise a greater enemy and oppressor of the Jews. 'And in his estate shall stand up a vile person, to whom they shall not give the honour of the kingdom; but he shall come in peaceably, and obtain the kingdom by flatteries,' ver. 21. Antiochus returning from Rome, || was at Athens in his way to Syria, when his brother Seleucus died by the treachery of Heliodorus: and 'the honour of the kingdom was not given to him;' for Heliodorus attempted to get possession of it himself; another § party declared in favour of Ptolemy Philometor king of Egypt, whose mother Cleopatra was, the daughter of Antiochus the Great, and sister of the late king Seleucus; and neither was Antio-

H 2

chus

* Vide Appian. *ibid.*

† ἀποβύλων Ἡλιόδωρον τοῦτον τὸν αὐτὸν ἀποβύλων. infidius Heliodori-cujusdam, purpurati oppressus est. Appian. de Bell. Syr. p. 116. Edit. Steph. p. 187. Edit. Tollii.

‡ Vide Appian. *ibid.*

§ Appian. *ibid.*

Hieron. in locum. Col. 1127.

chs Epiphanes the right heir to the crown, but his nephew Demetrius the son of Seleucus, who was then an hostage at Rome. However he 'obtained the kingdom by flatteries.' He flattered * Eumenes king of Pergamos and Attalus his brother, and by fair promises engaged their assistance, and they the more readily assisted him, as they were at that juncture jealous of the Romans, and were willing therefore to secure a friend in the king of Syria. He flattered too † the Syrians, and with great show of clemency obtained their concurrence. He flattered also ‡ the Romans, and sent ambassadors to court their favour, to pay them the arrears of tribute, to present them besides with golden vessels of five hundred pound weight, and to desire that their friendship and alliance, which they had had with his father, might be renewed with him, and that they would lay their commands upon him as upon a good and faithful confederate king; he would never be wanting in any duty. Thus he 'came in peaceably;' and as he flattered the Syrians the Syrians flattered him again, || and bestowed upon him the title of *Epiphanes* or *the illustrious*: but the epithet of *vile* or rather *despicable*, given him by the prophet, agrees better with his true character. For, as § Polybius and other heathen historians describe him, he would steal out of the palace, and ramble about the streets in disguise; would mix with the lowest company, and drink and revel with them to the greatest excess; would put on the Roman gown, and go about canvassing for votes, in imitation of the candidates for offices at Rome; would sometimes scatter money in the streets among his followers, and sometimes pelt them with stones; would wash in the public baths, and expose himself by all manner of ridiculous and indecent gestures; with a thousand such freaks and extravagances.

* Appian. *ibid.*

† *Simulatione clementiæ obtinuit regnum Syriæ: Hieron. ibid.*

‡ Liv. Lib. 41. Cap. 9. *Peter rexem, ut quæ cum patre suo societatis atque amicitia fuisset, ea secum renovaretur: imperaretque sibi populus Romanus, quæ bono fidelique socio regi essent imperanda; se nullo usquam cessaturum officio.*

|| Appian. *de Bell. Syr.* p. 118. Edit. Steph. p. 187. Tollii.

§ Polyb. *apud Anthracum*, Lib. 5. p. 193. Lib. 6. p. 436. Edit. Casaubon. *Diod. Sic. in Excerptis. Valesii*, p. 305, 306. Liv.

Cap. 24. 25.

gancies, as indeed * Polybius who was a contemporary writer, and others after him, instead of *Epiphanes*, or the illustrious, more rightly to call him *Epimanes* or the mad-man.

But frantic and extravagant as he was, he was however successful and victorious. 'And with the arms of a flood shall they be overflowed from before him; or rather more agreeably to the † original, 'And the arms of the overflow shall be overflowed from before him, and shall be broken; yea, also the prince of the covenant: And after the league made with him he shall work deceitfully.' ver. 22, 23. The 'arms' which 'were overflowed from before him' were those of his competitors for the crown. Heliodorus ‡ the murderer of Seleucus and his partizans, as well as those of the king of Egypt, who had formed some designs upon Syria, were vanquished by the forces of Eumenes and Attalus, and were dissipated by the arrival of Antiochus, whose presence disconcerted all their measures. 'The prince also of the covenant was broken,' that is the high-priest of the Jews: and so || Theodoret understands and explains it. "The prince of the covenant: He speaketh of the pious high-priest, the brother of Jason, and foretelleth, that even he should be turned out of his office." As soon as Antiochus was seated in the throne, § he removed Onias from the high-priesthood, and preferred

H 3

Jason

* Πάλλιος δ' ἐν τῇ λίσῃ καὶ πλεονεξία ἱστορεῖται καὶ αὐτοὶ Ἐπιμανὴ καὶ ἐν Ἑλληνιστῶν ἱστορίαις. Polybius libro vigesimo sexto historiarum cum vocat *epiphanem*, non *epimane*, ob ea quæ ab illo gesta sunt. Athenæus, Lib. 10. p. 147. Vid. etiam Lib. 2. p. 45. Lib. 5. p. 19.

† Καὶ ἀρχαῖα ἐν πλεονεξίᾳ κατακλυθεύσονται ἀπὸ πρὸς αὐτῷ. Sept.

Et brachia obruentis obruentur a conspectu ejus. Arab. Et brachia pugnantis expugnabatur a facie ejus. Vulg.

‡ Heliodore meurtrier de Seleucus, et ses partisans, aussi bien que ceux du roi d'Egypte, qui avoient quelques dessein sur la Syrie, furent vaincus par les forces d'Attalus, et d'Eumenes; et dissipés par l'arrivée d'Antiochus, dont la présence deconcerta tous leurs dessein. Calmet. Vide, si placet, Appian. Syriac. p. 116, 117. Grot. hic.

|| Καὶ γὰρ ὁ ἱερευμὶς διαβήσας, ἀποκρίσας τὴν ἀρχιερεῖαν τοῦ Ἰωνῆ, τοῦ τοῦ Ἰακώβου ἀδελφοῦ, καὶ προδίδασκε, ὅτι κακῶς ἐν ἀρχιερεῖατι πᾶσι. Et dux fœderis. Principem sacerdotum intelligi vult pium Jasonis fratrem, præmonetque fore ut illum etiam abjecto pontificatu maximo. Theod. in locum, p. 683. Tom. 2. Edit. Simon.

§ 2 Macc. iv. Josephus de Maccabæis. Eccl. 4. p. 1304. Edit. Hudson.

Jason the brother of Onias to that dignity, not for any crime committed against him by the former, but for the great sums of money which were offered to him by the latter. For Jason offered to give him no less than three hundred and sixty talens of silver for the high-priesthood, besides eighty more upon another account: and good Onias was not only displaced to make way for a wicked usurper, but after a few years, living at Antioch, he was with as great treachery as cruelty murdered by the king's deputy. But though Antiochus had *made a league* with Jason the new high-priest, yet he did not faithfully adhere to it, but acted *deceitfully*. For Menelaus the brother of Jason * being sent to the Syrian court, with a commission from his brother, to pay the tribute, and to transact some business with the king; he by his address and flattery, so far insinuated himself into the royal favour, that he attempted to supplant his elder brother Jason, as Jason had supplanted his elder brother Onias; and proffered to give three hundred talents more for the high-priesthood than Jason had given for it. The king readily accepted the proposal, and issued his mandate for the deposing of Jason, and advancing of Menelaus in his room: but he could not effect the change without an armed force, which put Menelaus in possession of the place, and compelled Jason to fly, and take shelter in the land of the Ammonites.

What follows is not assigning a reason for any thing that preceded, and therefore ought not to have been translated, 'For he shall come up,' but 'And he shall come up, and he shall become strong with a small people. He shall enter peaceably even upon the fattest places of the province,' or as it is in the margin, 'He shall enter into the peaceable and fat places of the province, and he shall do that which his fathers have not done, nor his fathers fathers, he shall scatter among them the prey, and spoil, and riches: yea, and he shall forecast his devices against the strong holds, even for a time.' var. 22, 24. Antiochus Epiphanes had been many years an hostage at Rome; and coming from thence with only a few attendants, he appeared in Syria little at first, but soon received a great increase, 'and became strong with a small people.' By the friendship

* friendship of Eumenes and Attalus he 'entered peaceably upon the upper provinces; and appointed Timarchus and Heraclides, the one to be governor of Babylon, and the other to be his treasurer, two brothers, with both of whom he had unnatural commerce. He likewise 'entered peaceably' upon the provinces of Cœle-Syria and Palestine. And wherever he came, he outdid 'his fathers, and his fathers fathers' in liberality and profusion. He 'scattered among them the prey, and spoil, and riches.' The † *prey* of his enemies, the *spoil* of temples, and the *riches* of his friends as well as his own revenues, were expended in public shows, and bestowed in largesses among the people. The writer of the first book of Maccabees affirms, that in the liberal giving of gifts 'he abounded above the kings that were before him.' Josephus testifies, that ‡ he was magnanimous and munificent. Polybius recounts § various instances of his extravagance, and relates particularly, that ¶ sometimes meeting accidentally with people whom he had never seen before, he would enrich them with unexpected presents; and † sometimes standing in the public streets, he would throw about his money, and cry aloud let him take it to whom fortune shall give it. His generosity was the more requisite to fix the provinces of Cœle-Syria and Palestine in his interest, because they were claimed as of right belonging to the king of Egypt. Ptolemy Epiphanes was now dead; his queen Cleopatra was dead too: * and Eulaeus an eunuch, and Lenæus, who were administrators

* Appian. de Bell. Syr. p. 127. Edit. Steph. p. 187. Edit. Tollii.

† Polyb. apud Athenæum. Lib. 5. p. 195. Edit. Casaubon.

‡ 1 Macc. iii. 30.

§ Joseph. Antiq. Lib. 12. Cap. 7. Sect. 2. p. 537. Edit. Hudson.
μεγαλόφρων καὶ φιλόδοτος. vir magni animi et largitor.

¶ Polyb. ibid. p. 194. &c. Lib. 10. p. 438. &c.

* ἢ παρ' αὐτοῦ δὲ τοῖς τυγχάνουσιν οὐ μὴ ἰσχυροῦς ἰδίᾳ δυνάμει ἀπεροδότησαν. aliquando forte obvius, quos nunquam viderat, imperatis muneribus afficeret, p. 194.

† ἀλλοῖς δὲ ἐν ταῖς δημοσίαις αὐτοῦ ἑστάναι λαγόν, ἐν τῇ τύχῃ διδοῖν λαβάναι, καὶ ῥίψας το ἀργυρίου ὀρχίσθαι. nonnunquam publica via stantem cum proclamasset, vocat cui fortuna dederet, jactus sparsisquecausis nummis discessisse. p. 438.

* Et quum post mortem Cleopatrac Eulaeus eunuchus utricuius Philometoris, et Lenæus Ægyptum regem, et repeterent Syriam quam

nistrators of the kingdom for the young king Ptolemy Philometor, demanded the restitution of these provinces, alledging with very good reason, that they were assigned to the first Ptolemy in the last partition of the empire among Alexander's captains; that they had remained ever since the possession of the kings of Egypt, till Antiochus the Great took them away unjustly, in the minority of Ptolemy Epiphanes the present king's father; and after he had taken them away, he agreed to surrender them again in dowry with his daughter Cleopatra. Antiochus denied these pleas and pretences with the direct contrary assertions; and foreseeing, as well as he might foresee, that these demands would prove the ground and occasion of a new war between the two crowns, * he came to Joppa to take a view of the frontiers, and to put them into a proper posture of defence. In his progress he came to Jerusalem, where he was honourably received by Jason the high-priest, and by all the people; and as it was evening, he was ushered into the city with torch-light and with great rejoicings: and from thence he went into Phœnicia, to fortify his own *strong holds*, and to *forecast* his *devices* against those of the enemy. The † Seventy and the Arabic translator with a little variation in the reading render it, to *forecast his devices against Egypt*. Thus he did 'even for a time' and employed some years in his hostile preparations.

At length Antiochus, in the fifth year of his reign, ‡ despising the youth of Ptolemy, and the inertness of his tutors, and believing the Romans to be too much employed in the Macedonian war to give him any interruption, resolved to carry hostilities into his enemy's country instead of waiting for them in his own, and marched with a powerful army against Egypt. And he shall stir up his power and his courage against the king of the south with a great army, and the king of the south shall be stirred up to battle with a very great and mighty

quam Antiochus fraude occupaverat, ortum est inter avarenū unū et puerum Ptolemæum prælium. Hieron. in locum. Col. 1127. Polyb. Legat. 7. p. 124. Legat. 48. p. 908. Edit. Casaubon.

* 2 Macc. iv. 12.

† *Ἐὰν δὲ Ἀντίοχος ἐπὶ τὴν Αἴγυπτον λογισθῇ.* Sept. Et cogitabit adversus Egyptum. Arab. instead of *ἐπὶ τὴν Αἴγυπτον* they read *ἐπὶ τὴν*

ty army; but he shall not stand: for they shall forecast devices against him. Yea, they that feed of the portion of his meat, shall destroy him, and his army shall overflow, or * rather shall be overflowed: and many shall fall down slain.' ver 25, 26. These things † Porphyry rightly interprets of Antiochus, who marched against Ptolemy his sister's son with a great army. The king of the south, too, that is the generals of Ptolemy were stirred up to war with very many and exceeding strong forces; and yet could not resist the fraudulent counsels of Antiochus. The two armies engaged ‡ between Pelusium and mount Casius, and Antiochus obtained the victory. The || next campaign he had greater success, routed the Egyptians, took Pelusium, ascended as far as Memphis, and made himself master of all Egypt except Alexandria. These transactions are thus related by the § writer of the first book of Maccabees: "Now when the kingdom was established before Antiochus, he thought to reign over Egypt, that he might have the dominion of two realms, Wherefore he entered into Egypt with a great multitude with chariots, and elephants, and horsemen, and a great navy; and made war against Ptolemy king of Egypt: but Ptolemy was afraid of him and fled; and many were wounded to death. Thus they got the strong cities in the land of Egypt, and he took the spoils thereof." 'He shall stir up his power against the king of the south with a great army,' says the prophet; *he entered into Egypt with a great multitude*, says the historian. 'The king of the south shall not stand,' says the prophet; *Ptolemy was afraid and fled*, says the historian. 'Many shall fall down slain,' says the prophet; *and many were wounded to death*, says the historian. The misfortunes of Ptolemy Philometor

* *Exercitus ejus inundabitur. Pagn. Exercitusque ejus opprimetur. Vulg. Exercitus ejus dissipabitur. Syr.*

† Haec Porphyrius interpretatur de Antiocho, qui adversus Ptolemaeum sororis suae filium profectus est cum exercitu magno. Sed et rex austri, id est duces Ptolemaei provocati sunt ad bellum multis auxiliis, et fortibus nimis; et non potuerunt resistere Antiochi consiliis fraudulentis. Hieron in locum. Col. 1128.

‡ Quamvis inter Pelusium et montem Casium praelium commissum, victi sunt duces Ptolemaei. Hieron. Col. 1127. 1128.

|| 2 Maacc. v. 1. Hieron. ibid. Joseph. Antig. Lib. 12. Cap. 5. Sect. 7 p. 532. Edit. Hudson. Valesii Excerpta ex Diodoro. p. 312.

§ 1 Maacc. i. 16—19.

Philometor are by the prophet ascribed principally to the treachery and baseness of his own ministers and subjects : ' for they shall forecast devices against him ; Yea, they that feed of the portion of his meat shall destroy him.' And it is certain that Eulæus * was a very wicked minister, and bred up the young king in luxury and effeminacy contrary to his natural inclination. Ptolemy Macron too, † who was governor of Cyprus, revolted from him, and delivered up that important island to Antiochus ; and for the reward of his treason was admitted into the number of the king's principal friends, and was made governor of Coele-Syria and Palestine. Nay even ‡ the Alexandrians, seeing the distress of Philometor, renounced their allegiance ; and taking his younger brother Evergetes or Physcon, proclaimed him king instead of the elder brother.

History hath not informed us, by what means Ptolemy Philometor came into the hands of Antiochus, whether he was taken prisoner, or surrendered himself of his own accord ; but that he was in the hands of Antiochus, it is evident beyond all contradiction. ' And both these kings hearts shall be to do mischief, and they shall speak lies at one table ; but it shall not prosper : for yet the end shall be at the time appointed,' ver. 27. After Antiochus was come to Memphis, and the greater part of Egypt had submitted to him, ¶ he and Philometor did frequently eat and converse together ' at one table ' but notwithstanding this appearance of peace and friendship, ' their hearts' were really bent ' to do mischief,' and they ' spoke lies' the one to the other. For § Antiochus pretended to take care of his nephew Philometor's interest, and promised to restore him to the crown, at the same time that he was plotting his ruin, and was contriving means to weaken the two brothers in a war against each other, that

* Valesii Excerpta ex Diodoro. p. 311, 313.

† Valesii Excerpta ex Polybio. p. 126. 2 Macc. x. 23. 1 Macc. iii. 38. 2 Macc. viii. 8.

‡ Porphyri apud Eusebii Chron. Græc. p. 60 et 68.

¶ Nulli dubium est quin Antiochus pacem cum Ptolemæo fecerit, ut in convivium, et dolo machinatus sit, &c. Nic-

et. p. 902. Edit. Casaubon. Liv. Lib. 44. Cap.

the conqueror wearied and exhausted might fall an easier prey to him. On the other side * Philometor laid the blame of the war on his governor Eulæus, professed great obligations to his uncle, and seemed to hold the crown by his favour, at the same time that he was resolved to take the first opportunity of breaking the league with him, and of being reconciled to his brother : and accordingly as soon as ever Antiochus was withdrawn he made proposals of accommodation; and by the mediation of their sister Cleopatra a peace was made between the two brothers, who agreed to reign jointly in Egypt and Alexandria. But still this artifice and dissimulation did not prosper on either side. For † neither did Antiochus obtain the kingdom, neither did Philometor utterly exclude him, and prevent his returning with an army, as each intended and expected by the measures which he had taken : for these wars were not to have an end till ‘ the time appointed which was not yet come.’

Antiochus hoping to become absolute master of Egypt more easily by the civil war between the two brothers than by the exertion of his own forces, left the kingdom for a while, and returned into Syria. ‘ Then shall he return into his land with great riches, and his heart shall be against the holy covenant ; and he shall do exploits, and return to his own land,’ ver. 28. He did indeed ‘ return with great riches ;’ for the spoils which he took in Egypt were of immense value. The writer ‡ of the first book of Maccabees says, ‘ Thus they got the strong cities in the land of Egypt, and he took the spoils thereof. And after that Antiochus had smitten Egypt he returned.’ Polybius describing || his opulence and the great show that he made of gold, silver, jewels, and the like, affirms that he took them partly out of Egypt, having broken the league with the young king Philometor. Returning too

* Livi. *ibid.* Polyb. *Legat.* 82. p. 908. Porphy. *apud Iusebium* *ib.*

† —et nihil profecerit : quia regnum ejus non potuerit obtinere ; *Uc.* Hircan. *ibid.*

‡ 1 Maccab. i. 19. 21.

|| ταῦτα δὲ πάντα συντίλισθη, ἡ δὲ ἐν τῇ αἰῶνι ἐν τῇ Λαγυῇ παρὰ τὴν παρασκευὴν τοῦ Φιλομήτορος βασιλείᾳ πωλεῖται ἦν. Omnis porro hæc sic absoluta et exculta sunt partim iis quibus in Egypto, per se violato foederis pacto regem Ptolemæum Philometoræ adhuc puerulum defraudaverat. Polyb. *apud Athenæum*, Lib. 3. p. 125.

too from Egypt, he set 'his heart against the holy covenant.' For it happened while he was in Egypt, that * a false report was spread of his death. Jason thinking this a favourable opportunity for him to recover the high-priesthood, marched to Jerusalem with a thousand men, assaulted and took the city, drove Menelaus into the castle, and exercised great cruelties upon the citizens. Antiochus hearing of this, concluded that the whole nation had revolted; and being informed that the people had made great rejoicings at the report of his death, he determined to take a severe revenge and went up with a great army as well as with great indignation against Jerusalem. He besieged and took the city by force of arms, slew forty thousand of the inhabitants, and sold as many more for slaves, polluted the temple and altar with swines flesh, profaned the holy of holies by breaking into it, took away the golden vessels and other sacred treasures to the value of eighteen hundred talents, restored Menelaus to his office and authority, and constituted one Philip, by nation a Phrygian, in manners a barbarian, governor of Judea. When he had *done these exploits*, he 'returned to his own land.' So says † the writer of the first book of Maccabees, "When he had taken all away, he went into his own land, having made a great massacre, and spoken very proudly." So likewise ‡ the author of the second book of Maccabees, "When Antiochus had carried out of the temple a thousand and eight hundred talents, he departed in all haste unto Antiochia." Josephus too || to the same purpose, "When he had gotten possession of Jerusalem, he slew many of the adverse party; and having taken

* 2 Macc. v. 5—23. 1 Macc. i. 20—28. Joseph. Antiq. Lib. 12. Cap. 5. Sect. 3. p. 532. Lib. 13. Cap. 8. Sect. 2. p. 582. de Bell. Jud. Lib. 1. Cap. 1. Sect. 1. p. 819. de Maccab. Sect. 4. p. 1396. Polybius megalopolitanus. Strabo Cappadox. Nicolaus Damascenus. Timagenes. Castor et Apollodorus apud Joseph. contra Appian. Lib. 2. p. 1369. Edit. Hudson. Diodorus Siculus. Et Lib. 34. Ecloga prima, p. 901. Edit. Rhod. et apud Photii Biblioth. Cod. 224. p. 1149. Edit. Rothom. 1653.

† 1 Maccab. i. 24.

‡ 2 Macc. v. 21.

|| ὁ βασιλεὺς δ' ἐν τῇ ἱερουσαλὴμ γινόμενος, πολλὰς ἀπέκτεινεν τῶν αἰσίου φρονούντων καὶ χρημάτων πολλὰ εὐλκας ἐπέθηκεν ἐν Ἀντιόχειαν. Uri sicut in sua potestate habuit Hierosolyma. multos diversarum opinionum interfecit magnaeque pecuniae vi direpta, Antiochiam rediit. Joseph. Antiq. Lib. 12. Cap. 5. Sect. 3. p. 532. Edit. Hudson.

taken great spoils, he returned into Antioch." These things are not only recorded by Jews; for as * Jerome observes, "both the Greek and Roman history relates, that after Antiochus returned from Egypt, he came into Judea, that is, *against the holy covenant*, and spoiled the temple, and took away a great quantity of gold; and having placed a garrison of Macedonians in the citadel, he returned into his own land."

After † two years Antiochus marched into Egypt again. 'At the time appointed' (and hinted at before, ver. 27.) 'he shall return, and come toward the south, but it shall not be as the former, or as the latter;' or as it is translated in ‡ the Vulgar Latin, 'the latter shall not be like the former. For the ships of Chittim shall come against him: therefore he shall be grieved and return, and have indignation against the holy covenant: so shall he do, he shall even return, and have intelligence with them that forsake the holy covenant,' ver. 29, 30. Antiochus perceiving that his fine-woven policy was all unravelled, and that the two brothers, instead of wasting and ruining each other in war, had provided for their mutual safety and interest by making peace, || was so offended, that he prepared war much more eagerly and maliciously against both, than he had before against one of them. Early therefore in the spring he set forwards with his army, and passing through Coele-Syria came into Egypt, and the inhabitants of Memphis and the other Egyptians, partly out of love, partly out of fear, submitting to him, he came by easy marches down to Alexandria. *But this expedition was not as successful as his former ones; the reason of which is assigned in the next words, 'the ships of Chit-*

VOL. II.

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* Et Cæca et Romana narrat historia: postquam reversus est Antiochus expulsus apud Ægyptiis venisse cum in Judæam, hoc est adversus Testamentum sanctum et spoliassse templum, et auri tulisse quam plurimum: positoque in arce præsidio Macedonum, reversum in terram suam. Hieron. in locum. Col. 1129.

† Et post biennium rursus contra Ptolemæum exercitum congregasse, et venisse ad austrum. Hieron. ibid.

‡ Non erit priori simile novissimum. Vulg.

||—adco est offensus, ut multo acrius infestiusque adversus duos, quam ante adversus unum, pararet bellum: ipse primo vere cum exercitu Ægyptum petens, in Cœlen Syriam processit.—(receptus ab iis qui) ad Memphim incolebant, et ab cæteris Ægyptiis, partim voluntate, partim metu, ad Alexandriam medicis itineribus descendit. Liv. Lib. 45. Cap. 11, 12.

ful had just made of the kingdom of Macedonia. It was without doubt a great mortification to Antiochus, to be so humbled, and so disappointed of his expected prey. 'Therefore he grieved, and returned.' He led back his forces into Syria, as * Polybius says, grieved and groaning, but thinking it expedient to yield to the times for the present. 'And had indignation against the holy covenant: for † he vented all his anger upon the Jews: he detached Apollonius with an army of twenty-two thousand men, who coming to Jerusalem slew great multitudes, plundered the city, set fire to it in several places, and pulled down the houses and walls round about it. Then they builded, on an eminence in the city of David, a strong fortress, which might command the temple; and issuing from thence, they fell on those who came to worship, and shed innocent blood on every side of the sanctuary, and defiled it: so that the temple was deserted, and the whole service omitted; the city was forsaken of its natives, and became an habitation of strangers. So he did, and after his return to Antioch ‡ he published a decree, which obliged all persons upon pain of death to conform to the religion of the Greeks: and so the Jewish law was abrogated, the Heathen worship was set up in its stead, and the temple itself was consecrated to Jupiter Olympius. In the transacting and ordering of these matters he 'had intelligence with them that forsook the holy covenant,' Menelaus and the other apostate Jews of his party, who were the king's chief instigators against their religion and their country. For || as the writer of the first book of Maccabees says, "In those days went there out of Israel wicked men, who persuaded many, saying, Let us go, and make a covenant with the Heathen, that are round about us: Then certain of the people were so forward herein, that they went to the king, who gave them licence to do after the ordinances of the heathen: And they made themselves uncircumcised, and forsook

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* *ὅτε μὲν ἀπῆλθε τῆς δυναστείας εἰς τὴν Ἀσσίαν (Συρίαν ut putat Usenius) βαρυνόμενος καὶ τινῶν οὐκ ὀνείδων διὰ τοῖς παροῦσι κατὰ τὸ πᾶν* Antiochus copias Agriam (Syriam) suam, gravate ille quidem aggemens, sed tamen abduxit. in presentia temporis cedendum atus. Polyb. ibid. p. 916.

† 1 Macc. i. 29—40. 2 Macc. v. 24—26.

‡ 1 Macc. i. 41—64. 2 Macc. vi. 1—9.

|| 1 Macc. i. 11, 13, 15.

the holy covenant, and joined themselves to the Heathen, and were sold to do mischief." Josephus has plainly * ascribed the distress of his country to the factions among his countrymen, and to those persons particularly who fled to Antiochus, and besought him that under their conduct he would invade Judæa.

It may be proper to stop here, and reflect a little how particular and circumstantial this prophecy is concerning the kingdoms of Egypt and Syria, from the death of Alexander to the time of Antiochus Epiphanes. There is not so complete and regular a series of their kings, there is not so concise and comprehensive an account of their affairs, to be found in any author of those times. The prophecy is really more perfect than any history. No one historian hath related so many circumstances, and in such exact order of time, as the prophet hath foretold them: so that it was necessary to have recourse to several authors, Greek and Roman, Jewish and Christian; and to collect here something from one, and to collect there something from another, for the better explaining and illustrating the great variety of particulars contained in this prophecy. We have been particularly obliged to Porphyry and Jerome, who made use of the same authors for different purposes, and enjoyed the advantages of having those histories entire, which have since either in whole or in part been destroyed. For † they had not only Polybius, Diodorus, Livy, Trogus Pompeius, and Justin, some parts of whose works are now remaining; but they had likewise Sutorius Callinicus, Hieronymus, Posidonius, Claudius Theon, and Andronicus Alipius, historians who

* Josephus de Pell. Jud. Lib. 1. Cap. 1. Sect. 1. p. 98. Edit. Hudson. *οἱ δὲ παρισφύγητες πρὸς Ἀντίοχον ἰκτινύοντες, αὐτοῖς ἡγήμασι χρηματίζοντες, εἰς τὴν Ἰουδαίαν ἐμβάλλουσιν.* illi vero ad Antiochum se receperunt, eique supplicarunt ut ipsis ducibus in Judæam irrumperet.

† Ad intelligendas autem extremas partes Danielis, multiplex Græcorum historia necessaria est; Sutorii videlicet, Callinici, Diodori, Hieronymi, Polybii, Posidonii, Claudii, Theonis, et Andronici cognomento Alipii, quos et Porphyrius esse se secutum dicit; Josephi quoque et eorum quos ponit Josephus, præcipue que nostri Livii, et Pompeii Trogi, atque Justin, qui omnem extremæ visionis narrat historiam. Hieron. præf. in Dan. Col. 1. fo. 1. Edit. Benedict. Sutorii videlicet Callinici, Diodori, Hieronymi, Polybii, Posidonii, Claudii Theonis, et Andronici cognomento Alipii. Ita eum locum emenda. In vulgatis est Sutorius Callinicus distinguitur, quasi a Sutorio sit diversus. Voss. Græc. Lib. 2. Cap. 13.

who wrote of those times, and whose works have since entirely perished. If these authors were still extant, and those who are extant were still complete, the great exactness of the prophecy might in all probability have been proved in more particulars than it hath been. This exactness was so convincing, that Porphyry could not pretend to deny it; he rather laboured to confirm it, and drew this inference from it, that the prophecy was so very exact, that it could not possibly have been written before, but must have been written in, or soon after the time of Antiochus Epiphanes, all being true and exact to that time, and no farther. Others after him have asserted the same thing, not only without any proof, but contrary to all the proofs, which can be had in cases of this nature, as it hath been shewn in a former dissertation. The prophecy indeed is wonderfully exact to the time of Antiochus Epiphanes, but it is equally so beyond that time, as you will evidently perceive in the sequel, which cannot all with any propriety be applied to Antiochus, but extends to remoter ages, and reaches even to the general resurrection. No one could thus declare 'the times and the seasons,' Acts i. 7. but he who 'hath them in his power.'

XVII.

The same subject continued.

PART II.

THUS far the meaning and completion of the prophecy is sufficiently clear and evident; there is more obscurity and difficulty in the part that remains to be considered. Thus far commentators are in the main agreed, and few or none have deviated much out of the common road: but hereafter they pursue so many different paths, that it is not always easy to know whom it is best and safest to follow. Some * as Porphyry among

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* *Cætera quæ sequuntur usque ad finem voluminis, ille (Porphyrius) interpretatur super persona Antiochi qui cognominatus est Epiphanes, &c. Hieron. Col. 1127.*

the ancients, and Grotius among the moderns, contend that the whole was literally accomplished in Antiochus Epiphanes. Others, * as Jerome and most of the Christian fathers, consider Antiochus as a type of Antichrist; as in the seventy-second psalm Solomon is exhibited as a type of Christ, and many things are said of the one, which are only applicable to the other. Some again understand what remains, partly of the tyranny of Antiochus, and partly of the great apostacy of the latter days, or the days of the Roman empire. Others again apply it wholly to the invasion and tyranny of the Romans, the subsequent corruptions in the church, and alterations in the empire. There is no writer or commentator, whom we would choose to follow implicitly in all things; but in this we may agree with one, in that with another, and in some instances perhaps differ from all.

The prophet proceeds thus, ver. 31. 'And arms shall stand on his part, and they shall pollute the sanctuary of strength,' (the temple so called by reason of its fortifications), 'and shall take away the daily sacrifice, and they shall place the abomination that maketh desolate.' Porphyry and his adherents † would have those to be signified, who were sent by Antiochus two years after he had spoiled the temple, that they might exact tribute from the Jews, and take away the worship of God, and place in the temple of Jerusalem the image of Jupiter Olympius and the statues of Antiochus, which are here called 'the abomination of desolation.' And it is very true, ‡ as the writer of the first book of Maccabees saith, that Apollonius and others commissioned by Antiochus did "pollute the sanctuary, and forbid burnt offerings, and sacrifice,

* *Nostri autem haec omnia de Antichristo Prophetari arbitrantur—Quumque multa quae postea lecturi et exposaturi sumus, super Antiochi persona non convenient, typum eum volunt Antichristi habere—juxta illud quod de domino Salvatore in septuagesimo primo (secundo apud Hebr. et Sept.) psalmo dicitur, qui praenotatur Salomonis; et omnia quae de eo dicuntur, Salomoni non valent convenire, &c. Hieron. ibid.*

† *Volunt autem eos significari dui ab Antiocho missi sunt post vicinium quam templum expoliaverat, ut tributa exigerent a Judaeis, et auferrent cultum Dei, et in templo Jerusalem, Jovis Olympii simulacrum, et Antiochi statuas ponerent; quas nunc *abominationem desolationis* vocat. Hieron. in locum. Col. 1129.*

Macc. i. 45, 46, 54.

sacrifice, and drink-offerings in the temple, and set up the abomination of desolation upon the altar, and builded idol-altars throughout the cities of Judah on every side." Josephus likewise * affirms, that Antiochus forbade the Jews to offer the daily sacrifices, which they offered to God according to the law : He compelled them also to leave off the service of their God, and to worship those whom he esteemed gods ; and to build temples and erect altars to them in every city and village, and to sacrifice swine upon them every day. This interpretation therefore might very well be admitted, if the other parts were equally applicable to Antiochus ; but the difficulty, or rather impossibility of applying them to Antiochus, or any of the Syrian kings his successors, obliges us to look out for another interpretation. Jerome and the Christians of his time † contend, that all these things were a type of Antichrist, who is about to sit in the temple of God, and to make himself as God : but the fathers had very confused and imperfect notions of Antichrist, the prophecies relating to him having not then received their completion. All things duly considered, no interpretation of this passage appears so rational and convincing, as that proposed by Sir ‡ Isaac Newton. " In the same year that Antiochus by the command of the Romans retired out of Egypt, and set up the worship of the Greeks in Judea ; the Romans conquered the kingdom of Macedonia, the fundamental kingdom of the empire of the Greeks, and reduced it into a Roman province ; and thereby began to put an end to the reign of Daniel's third beast. This is thus expressed by Daniel, *And after*

him

* *Και γὰρ τὰς καθήμενας θυσίας, ὡς προσέφερον τῇ Θεῷ κατὰ τὸν νόμον ἐκώλυεν αὐτοὺς προσφέρειν.* Nam et sacrificia quotidiana, quae offerre solebant ex lege, offerre eos vetuit, *ἠναγκάσει δ' αὐτοὺς ἀφαιμεῖν τῆς πίστεως τὸν αὐτῶν Θεὸν θεσησέως, τὰς δὲ ὑπ' ὀνόματι τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐκιδόμενους εἰσεύδωντας ὡς ἐν ἱερῇ πολλὰ καὶ πόρῃ τιμῶν αὐτῶν καὶ βωμῶς καθιδύσαντας, θύειν ἐν αὐτοῖς οὗς καθ' ἡμέραν.* Cogit etiam eos, Dei ipsorum cultu omisso, eos colere quos ipse Deos existimaret ; et cum sana ipsorum oppidatim vicatimque extruxissent et aras collocassent, quotidie ibi immolare fues. Joseph. Antiq. Lib. 12. Cap. 5. Sect. 4. p. 533. Edit. Hudson.

† Quae universa in typo Antichristi, nostri praecessisse contendunt ; qui sessurus est in templo Dei, et se facturus ut Deum. Hieron. ibid.

‡ Sir Isaac Newton's Observations on Daniel, Chap. 12. p. 188, &c. See also Chap. 9. p. 125, &c.

him arms, that is, the Romans, *shall stand up*. As *אחר* signifies * *after the king*, Dan. xi. 8.; so *אחר* may signify *after him*. Arms are every where in this prophecy of Daniel put for the military power of a kingdom; and they stand up when they conquer and grow powerful. Hitherto Daniel described the actions of the kings of the *north* and *south*; but upon the conquest of Macedon by the Romans, he left off describing the actions of the Greeks, and began to describe those of the Romans in Greece. They conquered Macedon, Illyricum, and Epirus in the year of Nabonassar 580; 35 years after, by the last will and testament of Attalus the last king of Pergamus, they inherited that rich and flourishing kingdom, that is, all Asia westward of mount Taurus; 69 years after they conquered the kingdom of Syria, and reduced it into a province, and 34 years after they did the like to Egypt. By all these steps the Roman arms stood up over the Greeks; and after 95 years more, by making war upon the Jews, *they polluted the sanctuary of strength, and took away the daily sacrifice, and then placed the abomination of desolation*. For this abomination was placed after the days of Christ, Matth. xxiv. 15. in the 16th year of the emperor Adrian, A. C. 132. they placed this abomination by building a temple to Jupiter Capitolinus where the temple of God in Jerusalem had stood. Thereupon the Jews under the conduct of Barchochab rose up in arms against the Romans, and in the war had fifty cities demolished, nine hundred and eighty-five of their best towns destroyed, and five hundred and eighty thousand men slain by the sword; and in the end of the war, A. C. 136, were banished Judea upon pain of death, and thenceforward the land remained desolate of its old inhabitants." In support of this interpretation it may be further added, that the Jews themselves, as † Jerome informs us, "understood this passage neither of

* So *אחר* *אחר* Neh. xiii. 21. is 'after that time,' or 'from that time forth.' So likewise, in this very chapter, ver. 23. *אחר* is translated 'after the league made with him.' See the participle in Noldius and Taylor's Concordance.

† *Judaci autem hoc nec de Antiocho Epiphane, nec de Antichristo sed de Romanis intelligi volunt, de quibus supra dictum est, Et veni-
ant trieris, sive Itali atque Romani, et humiliabatur.* Post multa, in-
quit, tempora de ipsis Romanis, qui Ptolemæo venerè auxilio, et
Antiocho

of Antiochus Epiphanes, nor of Antichrist, but of the Romans, of whom it was said above that *the ships of Chittim shall come, and shall be grieved*. After some time, says the prophet, out of the Romans themselves who came to assist Ptolemy, and menaced Antiochus, there shall arise the emperor Vespasian, there shall arise his arms and seed, his son Titus with an army; and they shall pollute the sanctuary, and take away the daily sacrifice, and deliver the temple to eternal desolation." Mr Mede too assigns * the same reason for the prophet's passing from Antiochus Epiphanes to the Romans. "We must know, says he, that after the death of Antiochus Epiphanes the third kingdom comes no more in the holy reckoning, none of the Greek kings after him being at all prophesied of; yea Daniel himself calling the time of Antiochus his reign *the latter end of the Greek kingdom*, viii. 23. The reason of this is, because during the reign of Antiochus, Macedonia (whence that kingdom sprung) with all the rest of Greece, came under the Roman obedience. From thence therefore the holy Ghost begins the

Antiocho comminati sunt, consurget rex Vespasianus. surgent brachia ejus et semina, Titus filius cum exercitu et polluent sanctuarium, auferentque jube sacrificium, et templum tradent æternæ solitudini. Hieron. ibid.

* Mede's Works, Book 4. Epist. 41. p. 797. See too Book 3. p. 667, 672, Lucius Florus, Lib. 2. Cap. 7. Cedente Hannibale, præmium victoriæ Africa fuit, et secutus Africam terrarum orbis. Post Carthaginem vinci neminem puduit; secutæ sunt statim Africam Gentes, Macedonia, Græcia, Syria, cæteraque omnia, quodam quasi æstu et torrente fortunæ; sed primi omnium Macedones, affectator quondam imperii populus. Hannibal being worsted, Africa became the reward of the victory, and after Africa the whole world also. None thought it a shame to be overcome after Carthage was. Macedonia, Greece, Syria, and all other nations, as if carried with a certain current and torrent of fortune, did soon follow Africa. But the first who followed were the Macedonians, a people that some time affected the empire of the world. In Vellcius Paterculius, Lib. i Cap. 6 is an annotation out of one Emilius Sura in these words: Assyrii principes omnium gentium rerum potiti sunt, deinde Medi, postea Persæ deinde Macedones; exinde duobus tegibus, Philippo et Antiocho, quia Macedonibus oriundi erant; haud multo post Carthaginem subactam, devictis, summa imperii ad populum Romanum pervenit. The Assyrians had the sovereign dominion the first of all nations, then the Medes and Persians; after them the Macedonians; afterwards those two kings, Philip and Antiochus, being overcome, and that a little after that Carthage was subdued, the imperial power came to the Romans.

the rise of the fourth kingdom, yea the Roman historians themselves mark out that time for the rise of their empire." And for this purpose he alledges two quotations from Lucius Florus and Velleius Paterculus. Our Saviour himself making use of this same phrase 'the abomination of desolation' in his prediction of the destruction of Jerusalem, may convince us that this part of the prophecy refers to that event.

What follows can be but in part applied to the times of Antiochus Epiphanes. And such as do wickedly against the covenant shall he corrupt by flatteries: but the people that do know their God shall he strong, and do exploits. And they that understand among the people shall instruct many: yet they shall fall by the sword, and by flame, by captivity, and by spoil many days,* ver. 32, 33. If it may be said of Antiochus, that he *corrupted many by flatteries*, by rewards and promises, to forsake the holy covenant, and to conform to the religion of the Greeks; but the 'people who knew their God,' the Maccabees and their associates, 'were strong, and did exploits:' Yet it cannot so properly be said of the Maccabees, or any of the devout Jews of their time, that they did 'instruct many,' and make many proselytes to their religion; neither did the persecution which Antiochus raised against the Jews, continue many days,* or years according to the prophetic stile, for it lasted only a few years. All these things are much more truly applicable to the Christian Jews: for how the daily sacrifice was taken away, the temple was given to desolation, and the Christian church had succeeded in the place of the Jewish, the new covenant in the room of the old. 'And such as do wickedly against the covenant, shall he corrupt by flatteries;' *He*, that is, the power before described, who 'took away the daily sacrifice, and placed the abomination of desolation: nor is such a change of number unfrequent in the Hebrew language. "There are some, saith an * old commentator, who think that the prophet here had respect to the Christians, whom the wicked idolaters

* Sunt qui putent hic prophetam aspicere ad Christianos, quos idolatras conati fuerunt ab initio nascentis ecclesie seducere.
 * Possime etiam faviit tyrannorum persecutio in apostolicos doctores. Clarius in locum.

lators endeavoured from the beginning of the rising church to seduce by flatteries; but the persecution of tyrants raged chiefly against the apostles and holy teachers." The Roman magistrates and officers, it is very well known, made use of the most alluring promises, as well as of the most terrible threatenings, to prevail upon the primitive Christians to renounce their religion, and offer incense to the statues of the emperors and images of the gods. Many were induced to comply with the temptation, and apostatized from the faith, as we learn particularly from the famous * epistle of Pliny to Trajan: but the true Christians, 'the people who knew their God were strong,' remained firm to their religion, and gave the most illustrious proofs of the most heroic patience and fortitude. It may too with the strictest truth and propriety be said of the primitive Christians, that being dispersed every where, and preaching the gospel in all the parts of the Roman empire, they 'instructed many,' and gained a great number of proselytes to their religion: 'yet they fell by the sword, and by flame, by captivity, and by spoil many days;' for they were exposed to the malice and fury of ten general persecutions, and suffered all manner of injuries, afflictions, and tortures, with little intermission for the space of three hundred years.

After these violent persecutions the church obtained some rest and relaxation. 'Now when they shall fall, they shall be holpen with a little help; but many shall cleave to them with flatteries. And some of them of understanding shall fall, to try them, and to purge, and to make them white, even to the time of the end; because it is yet for a time appointed,' ver. 34, 35. Here Porphyry hath many followers, besides Grotius: and he † supposeth that by 'the little help' was meant Mattathias of Modin, who rebelled against the generals of Antiochus, and endeavoured to preserve the worship of the true God. It is called 'a little help,' saith he, because

* Plinii Epist. Lib. 10. Ep. 97.

† Parvulum auxilium Mattathian significari arbitratur Porphyrius de Vico Modin; qui adversum duces Antiochi rebellavit, et cultum veri Dei servare conatus est. Parvum autem, inquit, auxilium vocat, quia occisus est in prælio Mattathias; et postea Judas filius ejus, qui vocabatur Maccabæus, pugnans cecidit; et cæteri fratres ejus adversariorum fraude decepti sunt. Hieron. Col. 1130.

because Mattathias was slain in battle ; and afterwards his son Judas, who was called Maccabeus, fell in fight ; and his other brethren were deceived by the fraud of their adversaries. But this is not an exact or just representation of the case. Mattathias * was not slain in battle, but died of old age. His son Judas Maccabeus several times vanquished the generals of Antiochus, recovered the holy city, cleansed the sanctuary, restored the public worship of God, and not only survived Antiochus some years, but also received the good news of the dethroning and murdering of his son. His brother Jonathan was made high-priest, and his brother Simon sovereign prince of the Jews ; and both these dignities, the high-priesthood and the sovereignty, descended to Simon's son, and continued united in the family for several generations. That therefore could not be deemed ' a little help,' which prevailed and triumphed over all the power and malice of the enemy, and established the Jewish religion and government upon a firmer basis than before ; so far were they from falling again into a state of persecution, as the next verse intimates that they should. It may be concluded then, that Porphyry was mistaken in the sense of this passage. The Jewish doctors seem to have come nearer the mark : for some of them, as Jerome † affirms, understood these things of the emperor Severus and Antoninus, who much loved the Jews ; and others, of the emperor Julian, who pretended to love the Jews, and promised to sacrifice in their temple. But the most natural way of interpretation* is to follow the course and series of events. The church had now laboured under long and severe persecutions from the civil power. They ' had fallen by the sword, and by flame, by captivity and by spoil many days.' The tenth and last general persecution was begun ‡ by Diocletian : it raged, though not at all times equally, ten years ;

* For these particulars the two books of Maccabees, Josephus, Usher, Pridcaux, &c. must be consulted.

† *Hebræorum quidam hæc de Severo et Antonino principibus intelligunt, qui Judæos plurimum dilexerunt. Alii vero de Juliano imperatore :—Judæos amare se simulans, et in templo eorum immolaturum se esse promittens. Hieron ibid.*

‡ Eusebius *Ecclesiæ Hist. Lib. 8. Cap. 2. et 15, &c. Lectant. de Persecut. Cap. 12. et 48. Sic ab eversa ecclesiâ usque ad æm fuerunt anni decem, &c.*

years; and was suppressed entirely by Constantine, the first Roman emperor, as it is universally known, who made open profession of Christianity; and then the church was no longer persecuted, but was protected and favoured by the civil power. But still this is called only 'a little help,' because though it added much to the temporal prosperity, yet it contributed little to the spiritual graces and virtues of Christians. It enlarged their revenues, and increased their endowments; but proved the fatal means of corrupting the doctrine, and relaxing the discipline of the church. It was attended with this peculiar disadvantage, that 'many clave to them with flatteries.' Many became Christians for the sake of the loaves and the fishes, and pretended to be of the religion, only because it was the religion of the emperor. Eusebius, who was a contemporary writer *, reckons that one of the reigning vices of the time was the dissimulation and hypocrisy of men fraudulently entering into the church, and borrowing the name of Christians without the reality. Julian himself, as a † heathen historian relates, that he might allure the Christians to favour him, publicly professed the faith, from which he had long ago privately revolted; and even went to church, and joined with them in the most solemn offices of religion. He did more; his dissimulation carried him so far as to ‡ become an ecclesiastic in lower orders, or a reader in the church. Moreover, this is also called 'a little help,' because the temporal peace and prosperity of the church lasted but a little while. The spirit of persecution presently revived; and no sooner were the Christians delivered from the fury of their heathen adversaries, than they began to quarrel among themselves,

Vol. II.

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and

† —οἰκισται τ' αὐταὶ τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν ὑποδουμένων, καὶ τοὺς χριστιανῶν ἐπιπλάττει σχηματίζουσιν ὄνομα.—et fraudulentam simulationem eorum qui callide in ecclesiam irripebant, et Christianorum nomen falso ac specie tenus præferebant, Euseb. de vita Const. Lib.

4. Cap. 54.

‡ Utque omnes, nullo impediēte, ad sui favorem illiceret adhaerere cultui Christiano sūgebat, a quo jampridem occulte desciverat—Et—progressus in eorum ecclesiam, sollempniter numine orato discessit. Ammian. Marcell. Lib. 21. Cap. 2. p. 266. Edit. Valesii. Paris. 1681.

‡ Theodoret Eccles. Hist. Lib. 3. Cap. 1.—καὶ τὸ τῶν ἀναγινωσκουσῶν χάρις, καὶ τὰς ἱεράς βίβλους ἐν τοῖς ἐκκλησιαστικαῖς ἐκκλησίαις ἀναγιγνώσκουσιν ἐν τῷ λαῷ. in lectorum numerum adscriptus est, et sacros libros in ecclesiasticis conventibus populo recitavit.

and to persecute one another. The * *Consubstantialists*, even in the time of Constantine, led the way by excommunicating and banishing the Arians. The latter, under the favour of Constantius and Valens more than retorted the injury, and were guilty of many horrible outrages and cruelties towards the former. Such more or less have been the fate and condition of the church ever since: and generally speaking, 'those of understanding have fallen' a sacrifice to others, some of the best and wisest men to some of the worst and most ignorant. At least, if the persecuted have not been always in the right, yet the persecutors have been always in the wrong. These calamities were to befall the Christians, 'to try them; and to purge, and to make them white,' not only at that time, but 'even to the time of the end, because it is yet for a time appointed:'. And we see even at this day, not to alledge other instances, how the poor Protestants are persecuted, plundered and murdered, in the southern parts of France.

The principal source of these persecutions is traced out in the following verses. 'And the king' (who shall cause these persecutions) 'shall do according to his will, and he shall exalt himself, and magnify himself above every god, and shall speak marvellous things against the God of gods, and shall prosper till the indignation be accomplished; for that is determined, shall be done,' ver. 36. From this place, as † Jerome asserts, the Jews as well as the Christians of his time understood all to be spoken of Antichrist. But Porphyry and others who follow him, suppose it to be spoken of Antiochus Epiphanes, that he should be exalted against the worship of God, and grow to that height of pride, that he should command his statue to be placed in the temple of Jerusalem. But if it might be said, of Antiochus, that he 'spoke marvellous things against the God of Israel;'. yet it could not be so well affirmed of him, that 'he magnified and exalted himself above

* See Socrates, Sozomen, &c. and Jortin's Remarks on Ecclesiastical History. Vol. 3. p. 104, 105.

† Ab hoc loco Judæi dici de Antichristo putant—Quod quidem et nos de Antichristo intelligimus, Porphyrius autem et ceteri qui sequuntur eum, de Antiocho Epiphane dici arbitrantur, quod erectam contra cultum Dei, et in tantam superbiam venerit, ut in templum Jerusalem simulacrum suum perijulisset. Hieron. Col. 123.

bove every god: when * in his public sacrifices and worship of the gods he was more sumptuous and magnificent than all who reigned before him; and when in his solemn shows and processions were carried the images of all who among men were called or reputed gods, or dæmons, and even heroes; as Athenæus, reports out of Polybius. He was certainly very superstitious, though sometimes his extravagancies and necessities might induce him to commit sacrilege. It is a strong argument in favour of the Jewish and Christian interpretation, that St Paul appears to have understood this passage much in the same manner, because he applies the same expressions, 2 Thess. ii. 3, 4. to 'the man of sin, the son of perdition, who opposeth and exalteth himself above all that is called God, or that is worshipped; so that he as God sitteth in the temple of God, showing himself that he is God.' The thread of the prophecy will also conduct us to the same conclusion. For the prophet was speaking of the persecutions, which should be permitted for the trial and probation of the church, after the empire was become Christian: and now he proceeds to describe the principal author of these persecutions. *A king or kingdom*, as we have shewn before, and it appears in several instances, signifies any government, state or potentate: and the meaning of this verse we conceive to be, that after the empire was become Christian, there should spring up in the church an anti-christian power, that should act in the most absolute and arbitrary manner, exalt itself above all laws divine and human, dispense with the most solemn and sacred obligations, and in many respects enjoin what God had forbidden, and forbid what God had commanded. This power began in the Roman emperors, who summoned councils, and directed and influenced their determinations almost as they pleased. After the division of the empire, this power still increased, and was exerted principally by the Greek

K 2

emperors

* εν δε ταις προς τας πολεις δαταις, και ταις προς τας θεους τιμαις, παντας υπερβαλλει τας βιβλιανοτας, omnes quotquot regnarunt, sacrarum magnificentia, quae illius sumptu in claris urbibus fiebant, cultuque ac veneratione deorum exuperasse παντων ημερων των των αυθις λογισμων η νομιζομενων θιων η δαιμονων, παρουντι δι' ημων, εσθλα διαγιντα. omnium enim quotquot apud homines vel creduntur vel dicuntur esse, dii, aut dæmones, atque adeo heroum simulacra gestabantur. Polyb. apud Athen. Lib. 5. p. 194, 195. Edit. Cusaubon.

emperors, in the east, and by the bishops of Rome in the west : as we shall see in the several particulars hereafter specified by the prophet. This power too was to continue in the church, and ' prosper till the indignation be accomplished ; for that that is determined shall be done.' This must denote some particular period ; or otherwise it is no more than saying, that God's indignation shall not be accomplished till it be accomplished. This is the same as what before was called, viii. 19. ' the last end of the indignation,' and ix. 27. ' the consummation : ' and it meaneth the last end and consummation of God's indignation against his people the Jews. This seemeth to be expressed plainer in the following chapter, ver. 7. ' And when he shall have accomplished to scatter the power of the holy people, all these things shall be finished.' So long this antichristian power should continue. We see it still subsisting in the church of Rome : and it was an ancient tradition among the Jewish doctors, that the destruction of Rome and the restoration of the Jews should fall out about the same period. It is a saying of the famous rabbi David Kimchi in his comment upon Obadiah, * when Rome shall be laid waste, there shall be redemption for Israel. The curious reader may see more authorities cited by Mr Mede in a small Latin treatise upon this subject.

In this prophecy the antichristian power is described as exerted principally in the eastern empire, it was before described as exerted in the western empire, under the figure ' of the little horn ' of the fourth beast. ' Neither shall he regard the God of his fathers,' nor the desire of women, nor regard any God ; for he shall magnify himself above all,' ver. 37. That he should ' not regard the God of his fathers,' could not be truly affirmed of Antiochus, † who compelled all, and especially the Jews and Samaritans, to conform their worship to the religion of

* Cum devastabitur Roma, erit Israel redemptio. See Mede's Works, B. 5. Cap. 7. Placita doctorum Haebraeorum de Babylonia seu Romae excidio, p. 902.

† 1 Macc. i. 41—64. 2 Macc. vi. 1, &c. Joseph. Antiq. Lib. 12. Cap. 5. Sect. 4. p. 533. Ed. Hudson. Hoc magis Antichristo quam Antiocho convenit. Legimus enim Antiochum Idolorum Graeciae Antichristi cultum, et Judaeos atque Samaritanos ad venerationem Antichristi compulisse. Hieron. ibid.

of the Greeks: and what were the idols that he set up among them, but the Grecian deities, as Jupiter Olympus in the temple of Jerusalem, and Jupiter Xenus, or the defender of strangers, in the temple of the Samaritans? this therefore, as Jerome rightly observes, agrees better with Antichrist than with Antiochus. 'By not regarding the God of his fathers,' Mr Mede * understands the Roman states cashiering and casting off the pagan deities and heathen gods which were worshipped in their empire. But the conversion of the Roman state was hinted before, ver. 34. and other events have been pointed out since; so that it would be breaking in upon the series and order of the prophecy, to resume that subject again. The character too here given, doth not seem in any part of it, designed by way of commendation. It is not mentioned to the honour, but to the reproach of the power here described, that he should forsake the religion of his ancestors, and in a manner set up a new religion. It was not the prophet's intention to praise him for renouncing the idolatry of his heathen fathers, but to blame him for apostatizing in some measure from the religion of his Christian fathers; as he did actually both in the Greek and Latin church, by worshipping *Mahuzzim* instead of the true God blessed for ever. Another property of the power here described is, that he should 'not regard the desire of women.' And neither could this with any truth be declared of Antiochus, who besides having a wife, 'was lewd and vicious to such a degree, that he had no regard to common decency, but would prostitute his royal dignity, and gratify and indulge his lusts publicly in the presence of the people. He had a favourite concubine, whom he called after his own name Antiochus. To her he assigned two cities in Cilicia, Tarsus and Malus for her maintenance; and the inhabitants, rather than they would submit to such an indignity, rebelled against

K 3

him.

* Mede's Works, B. 3. p. 668.

† —luxuriosissimus fuisse dicitur, et in tantum dedecus per supra et corruptelas venisse regiae dignitatis; aut nimis quoque et scortis publice jungeretur, et libidinem suam populo praesente compleret. Hieron. ibid. Vide etiam Theodoret in locum. p. 689. 2 Macc. iv. 30.

him. As Jerome says, * the interpretation is easier of Antichrist, that he should therefore counterfeit chastity, that he might deceive many. In the Vulgar Latin it is indeed † 'And he shall regard the desire of women:' but this reading is plainly contrary to the original, and to most other versions; unless with Grotius we understand the copulative *and*, when it follows a negative, as becoming a negative too, and signify *neither*. Grotius explains it of Antiochus, ‡ that he should not spare even women: but the words in the original will not by any fair construction admit of this interpretation. The word in the original for *women* || signifieth properly *wives*, as *desire* doth *conjugal affection*. The meaning therefore of 'not regarding the desire of women' is neglecting and discouraging marriage; as both the Greeks and Latins did to the great detriment of human society, and to the great discredit of the Christian religion. The Julian and Papian laws which were enacted in the most flourishing times of the Romans for the favour and encouragement of those who were married, and had children § Constantine himself repealed, and allowed equal or greater privileges and immunities to those who were unmarried and had

* De Antichristo facilius interpretatio est; quod id o simulat castitatem, ut piosimul decipiat. Hieron. ibid.

† Et erit in concupiscentiis feminarum. Vulg.

‡ Apud Hebræos † negativam sequens negat, et valet *ne*, ut tantus sit, *neque desiderium mulierum*, id est, neque feminas, quanquam amabiles curabit quinquam, nulla sexus illius tangeretur misericordia. Grot. in locum.

|| See Mede's Works, Book 3 p 668. And it might have been translated, in this place *desire of wives*, as well as *desire of women*; for there is no other word used in the original for *wives* above once or twice in the whole scripture, but this נשים, which is here termed *women*. With the like use of the word *desire*, the spouse in the Canticles vii. 10. expresseth her well beloved to be her husband; *I am my beloved's*, and *his desire is towards me*; that is, he is my husband for so twice before the expressed herself. ii. 16. *My beloved is mine and I am his*, and vi. 3. *I am my beloved's*, and *my beloved is mine*. So Ezek. xxiv. 16. the Lord threatening to take away Ezekiel's wife, saith. *Behold, I take away from thee the desire of thine eyes*, נפשך, and afterwards, ver. 13. it followeth, *And at even my wife died*. Yea the Roman language itself is not unacquainted with this speech. Cicero adduxit. *Et mea lux, meum desiderium*.

§ Dutch. de Vit. Constantini, Lib. 4. Cap. 26. Sozomen, Liv. 2. c. 2. Gortius's Remarks on Eccles. Hist. Vol 3. p. 231.

Had no children. Nay he * held in the highest veneration those men, who had devoted themselves to the divine philosophy, that is to a monastic life ; and almost adored the most holy company of perpetual virgins, being convinced that the God to whom they had consecrated themselves, did dwell in their minds. His example was followed by his successors : and the married clergy were discountenanced and depressed, the monks were honoured and advanced ; and in the fourth century like a torrent over ran the eastern church, and soon after the western too. This was, ' evidently not regarding the desire of wives,' of conjugal affection. At first only second marriages were prohibited, but in time the clergy were absolutely restrained from marrying at all. So much did the power here described ' magnify himself above all, even God himself, by contradicting the primary law of God and nature ; and making that dishonourable, which the scripture, H. b. xiii. 4. hath pronounced ' honourable in all.'

More proofs are alledged in the next verse, of his apostatizing from the religion of his ancestors. ' But in his estate shall he honour the God of forces, or *Mabuzzim*, and a God whom his fathers knew not, shall he honour with gold and silver, and with precious stones and pleasant things, ver. 38. How can this with any propriety, or with any degree of sense, be applied to Antiochus ? The God *Mabuzzim*, as † Jerome remarks, Porphyry hath ridiculously interpreted the God of Modin, the town from whence came Mattathias and his sons, and where the generals of Antiochus compelled the Jews to sacrifice to Jupiter, that is, to the God of Modin. ' The God whom

* διαφροντως δ' ἔδειξτο τιμῆς πλείονος, τῆς τὴν σφῆν βίον τῇ κατὰ Θεὸν ἀναδύντας φιλοσοφίᾳ. τὸν ἢ παναγίον τῶν αἰετῶν παρῆναι τῷ Θεῷ χρὴν μανου-
χι καὶ σίβην διπλοῦς τῆς τῶν τοιοῦτῶν ψυχῆς νοικοῦ αὐτὸν ὑπαρχειν ὃ κα-
θεύσαντων ἰαυτὰς Θεὸν πρὸς ἑαυτοὺς. Præ cæteris vero eos maxime hono-
rabat, qui se totos divinæ philosophiæ addixerunt. Ipsum quidem
sanctissimum perpetuarum Dei virginum cætum tantum non ve-
nerabatur, cum ipsum cui se consecraverant Deum, in earum
mentibus habitare, pro certo haberet. Euseb. ibid. Cap. 28.

† Deum *Mabuzzim* ridicule Porphyrius interpretatus est, ut diceret in vico Modin, unde fuit Mattathias et filii ejus, Antiochæ duces Jovis poluisse statuam, et compulisse Judæos, ut ei victimas impulerent, id est, Deo Modin. Hieron. ibid.

whom his fathers knew not,' Grotius also * says, was Baal Semen, who was the same as Jupiter Olympius : but if so, how was he unknown to the Macedonians? It is necessary therefore to conclude with Jerome that † this likewise agrees better with Antichrist than with Antiochus. The word *Mabuzzim* is taken personally, and is retained ‡ in several translations. It is derived from ׀ a radical verb signifying *he was strong* ; and the proper meaning of it is *munitions, bulwarks, fortresses* : but the Hebrews often using abstracts for concretes, it signifies equally *protectors, defenders*, and *guardians*, as Mr Mede § hath shown in several instances. This being the derivation and signification of the word, the verse may literally be translated thus, 'and the god Mahuzzim in his estate shall he honour; even a god whom his fathers knew not, shall he honour with gold and silver, and with precious stones, and desirable things. There are examples of the same construction in other parts of scripture, as particularly in Psalm lxxxvi. 9. 'they shall glorify thy name;' where ¶ in the original the verb and particle prefixed to the noun are the same as in this passage. But if it be thought requisite to separate *God* and *Mabuzzim*, and to express the force of the particle ׀, then the verse may be translated thus, 'And with God, or instead of God, Mahuzzim in his estate shall he honour; even with God, or instead of God, † those whom his fathers knew not shall he honour with gold and silver, and with precious stones and desirable things.' However it be translated, the meaning evidently is, That he should establish the

* Is Deus est summus Phœnicum Deus Baal Semen, quem Graeci appellant Jovem Olympium, quasi translato nomine Orot. in locum.

† Hoc magis Antichristo quam Antiocho convenit. Hier. ibid.

‡ *Kai San Maſſim ſi tota cura deſerui.* Sept. Deum autem Maſſim in loco ſuo venetabitur. Vulg. Lat.

¶ *רַב רוּבּ* Robur, Item, *אַרַּץ* munition, a *רַב* Roboravit, Roboravit ſe Roboratus fui. Buſtorf.

§ Mede's Works, Book 3. p. 669. 670. Wherefore the Septuagint five times in the Pſalms renders the word *רַבּ* *Maboz* *bulwarks*, and the vulgar Latin ſometimes *protector*. The places are theſe *Psalm* xxvii. 1. xxxiii. 3. xxxi. 3. 5. xxxvii. 29.

¶ *רַבּ* *רַבּ* glorificabunt nomen tuum.

‡ *רַבּ* often ſignifies *ille qui illi* *qui*, as in *Numb.* xxii. 6. *Ruth* ii.

§ *Gen.* xiii. 3. *Joſh.* xvii. 16. 2 *Sam.* xxx. 27—31. The accuſative is placed before the verb, as it is in the former period; there is no accuſative caſe governed by the verb *רַבּ*.

the worship of *Mabuzzim*, of *protectors*, *defenders*, and *guardians*. He should worship them as God, or with God: and who is there so little acquainted with ecclesiastical history, as not to know that the worship of *saints*, and *angels* was established both in the Greek and Latin church? They were not only invoked and adored as patrons, intercessors, and guardians of mankind; but festival days were instituted to them; miracles were ascribed to them; churches were erected to them; their very relics were worshipped; and their shrines and images were adorned with the most costly offerings, and 'honoured with gold and silver, and with precious stones and desirable things.' And what renders the completion of the prophecy still more remarkable is, that they were celebrated and adored under the title of *Mabuzzim*, of *bulwarks*, and *fortresses*, of *protectors* and *guardians* of mankind. Mr Mede and Sir Isaac Newton * have proved this point by a great variety of authorities cited from the fathers and other ancient writers. It may be proper to recite some of the principal. Basil a monk, who was made bishop of Cæsarea in the year 369, and died in the year 378, concludes his oration upon the martyr Mamas with praying, "that † God would preserve the church of Cæsarea unshaken, being guarded with the great towers of the martyrs." In his oration upon the forty martyrs, whose relics were dispersed in all places thereabouts; "These are they, ‡ faith he, who having taken possession of our country, as certain conjoined towers, secure it from the incursions of the enemies:" and he farther invokes them, "O ye common keepers of mankind, good companions of your cares, coadjutors of our prayers, most powerful ambassadors to God, &c." Chrysostome in his thirty-second homily upon the epistle to the Romans

* Mede's Works, Book 3. p. 673, 674. Sir Isaac Newton's Observations on Daniel, Chap. 14.

† ἀσφαλι τὴν ἐκκλησίαν ταύτην. φρουρουμένη τοῖς μεγάλαις πύργαις τῶν μαρτυρῶν διατηρούσα. ecclesiam hanc quae magnis martyrum turribus munitur, custodiat inconcussam. Basil. Op. vol. 2. p. 189. Ed. Ben.

‡ οὗτοι εἰσιν οἱ τὴν καθ' ἡμᾶς χώραν διαλαβόντες, οἵοντι πύργοι τινὲς συνήκει, ἀσφαλίαν ἐκ τῆς τῶν ὑπακίων καταδύμενης παρασχέμενοι. Hi sunt qui regionem nostram optinentes, veluti densae quaedam turr es ipsam adversus hostium incursum tuto communiant. ibid. p. 155. ἢ ποιοὶ φυλακῆς τε γίνεσι τῶν ἀνθρώπων, ἀγχιβοὶ κοινοῖσι φρονεῖσιν, ἀληθινῶς εὐπρεπῶς περιέδωται, δυνατοτάτοι, κ.τ.λ. O communes generis humani custodes, boni curarum socii, precum fautores, legati potentissimi, &c. p. 156.

Romans, speaking of the relics of Peter and Paul, "This corps, * saith he, meaning of Paul, fortifies that city of Rome *more strongly than any tower, or than ten thousand rampires*, as also doth the corps of Peter." Are not these strong *Mabuzzim*? In his homily likewise upon the Egyptian martyrs he speaketh † after this manner, "The bodies of these saints fortify our city *more strongly than any impregnable wall of adamant and as certain high rocks prominent on every side*, not only repel the assaults of these enemies who fall under the senses and are seen by the eyes, but also subvert and dissipate the snares of invisable demons. and all the stratagems of the devil." Hilary also will tell us, that neither the *guards* of saints, nor (angelorum munitiones) the *bulwarks* of angels are wanting to those who are willing to stand. Here *angels* are *Mabuzzim*, as *saints* were before. The Greeks at this day, in their Preces Horarise, thus invoke the blessed virgin, "O thou virgin mother of God, thou impregnable wall, thou *fortress of salvation* (πύργος τῆς σωτῆρος Psal. 28.) we call upon thee, that thou wouldst frustrate the purposes of our enemies, and be a *sence* to this city: thus they go on, calling her *The Hope, Safeguard, and Sanctuary of Christians*. Gregory Nyssen in his third oration upon the forty martyrs calleth them (δεσφότες καὶ ὑπερευαγγελοι) *guarders and protectors*: Eucherius his St Gervase *the perpetual* (propugnator) *protector of the faithful*. Theodoret ‡ calleth the holy

* ΕΤΟ ΤΟ ΣΩΜΑ ΤΕΙΧΙΖΕΙΤΗΝ ΠΟΛΙΝ ΟΜΟΙΩΣ, ὡς πάντες πύργος καὶ μυρίων ἐκ περιβολῶν ασφαλιστὴν καὶ μὴν τὸ Πέτρον. Hoc corpus urbem illam quasi mœnibus cinget quod omni turre et valis innumeris tutius est; et cum hoc etiam Petri corpus. Chrysost. Op. Vol. 9. p. 759. Edit. Benedict.

† Τα γὰρ τῶν ἁγίων σώματα τῶν τειχῶν παντός ἀδαμαντίνου καὶ ἀβυσσοῦ ασφαλιστὴν ἡμῖν τειχίζου τῇ πόλει καὶ καθάπερ σκοπεύει τινὲς ὑψηλοὶ προβόλοι μὴ πανταχόθεν, οὐκ ὅτι τῶν αἰσθητῶν τῶν καὶ ὁρατῶν ἐχθρῶν περιβολὰς αποκρούεται μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν ἀσπυρτῶν διαμυστῶν ἐκείνων, καὶ πᾶσαι τὰ διαβόλου μύδοιαι ἀνατιγνῶσθαι, καὶ διαλύσθαι. Sanctorum christi horum corpora quovis adamantino et inexpugnabili muro tutius vobis urbem muniunt; et tamquam excelsi quidam scopuli undique prominentes, non horum, qui sub sensus cadunt, et oculis cernuntur, hostium impetui propulsant tantum, sed etiam invisibilium dæmonum insidias omnesque diaboli fraudes subvertunt, ac dissipant. Ibid. Vol. 2. p. 699.

‡ καὶ ὡς πύργος τιμῶσι καὶ φυλάκας, teneranturque tanquam, urbem præsidio, arguē custodis, ὅτι καὶ αὐτοὶ ἀπὸ τῶν ἀσπυρτῶν ἀνθρώπων, ὅτι καὶ αὐτοὶ καὶ τῶν κατὰ τὴν ἐκτίσιν τῆς πόλεως ἀπὸ τῶν διαβόλων ἐκείνων ἀνατιγνῶσθαι βλάσκας. Hærent vere hominum duces, et propugnatores.

holy martyrs *Guardians of cities, Lieutenants of places, Captains of men, Princes, Champions and Guardians, by whom disasters, are turned from us, and those which come from devils debarred and driven away.* By these and other authorities it appears, not only that *Mabuzzim* were worshipped, but they were worshipped likewise as *Mabuzzim*. This superstition began to prevail in the fourth century; and in the eighth century, in the year 787, the worship of images and the like was fully established by the seventh general council, and the second which was held at Nice: such different fortune attended that city, that there the first general council established orthodoxy, and there also the seventh established idolatry by law.

Other instances of his regard to *Mabuzzim* are produced in the next verse. 'Thus shall he do in the most strong holds with a strange god, whom he shall acknowledge, and increase with glory: and he shall cause them to rule over many, and shall divide the land for gain.' ver. 39. Porphyry * explains this of Antiochus fortifying the city of Jerusalem, and placing garrisons in the other cities, and persuading the people to worship Jupiter; and then giving much honour and glory to those whom he had so persuaded, and causing them to rule over the other Jews, and dividing possessions, and distributing rewards to them for their prevarication. But if all the rest could be accommodated to Antiochus, how could Jupiter whom he had always worshipped, be called 'a strange god whom he should acknowledge?' The worship of *Mabuzzim* was indeed the worship of a strange god both to those who imposed it, and to those who received it in the Christian church. But for the better understanding of this part of the prophecy, it may be proper to propose a more literal translation of it. 'Thus shall he do; to the defenders of
Mahuzzim

propugnatores, et auxiliares molorumque depulsores, damna quae a daemniobus insignantur, procul arcantes. Theod. Op. Vol. 4. de Graecarum affectionum Curatione. Serm. 8. p. 593. 594. 600. Edit. Paris 1642.

* Quod Porphyrius ita edisserit: faciet haec omnia, ut muniat arcem Jerusalem, et in caeteris urbibus ponat praesidia, et Judaeos doceat adorare Deum alienum: haud dubium quin Jovem significet. Quem quum illis ostenderit, et adorem esse persuasit: tunc dabit deceptis honorem, et gloriam plurimum; et faciet caeteris qui in Judaea fuerint dominari, et pro prevaricatione possessiones divider, et dono distribuet. Hieron. Col. 1142.

Mahuzzim together with the strange god whom he shall acknowledge, he shall multiply honour; and he shall cause them to rule over many, and the earth he shall divide for a reward.' Mr Mede's * translation is somewhat different: But I conceive it is neither so literal, nor so just to the original. *And he shall make the holds of the Mahuzzim withal* (or jointly) *to the foreign god, whom acknowledging he shall increase with honour; and shall cause them to rule over many, and shall distribute the earth for a reward.* Let us examine and compare the translations together. In our bible translation it is, 'Thus shall he do in the most strong holds,' or as we read in the margin; 'in the fortresses of munitions, with a strange god:' but here Mahuzzim is not taken personally, as it was in the foregoing verse. Mr Mede translates it thus, *And he shall make the holds of the Mahuzzim withal* (or jointly) *to the foreign god:* but then he doth not express the force of the particle prefixed to *holds* in the Hebrew, which ought not to be neglected. 'Whom he shall acknowledge and increase with glory,' says our bible translation: but there is no conjunction like *and* before *increase*, and no preposition like *with* before *glory* in the original. Mr Mede hath avoided the former objection by changing the verb into a participle, 'Whom acknowledging he shall increase with honour;' but the latter objection remains still in its full strength. The latter part is much the same in all translations: but in our bible translation there is nothing to which *them* can be referred, 'And he shall cause *them* to rule over many;' for it cannot well be said, that 'he shall cause' the strong holds 'to rule over many.' Let us now consider, how these inconveniences may be wholly avoided by a new translation. 'Thus † shall he do;' So the same words are translated, ver. 30; but then here a stop is to be made. 'To ‡ the defenders of Mahuzzim, or to the priests of Mahuzzim:' Here the force of the participle is expressed; here again the abstract is used for the concrete as in the foregoing verse, *holds* or *fortresses* for *defenders* and *supporters*, or *priests* as it may be translated,

* Mede's Works, B. 3. p. 667.

† *ergo* Sic faciet.

‡ *ergo* *namque* propugnatoribus Mahuzzimorum.

lated: and this notion of the word I find * approved and confirmed by Father Houbigant. It is manifest, that persons must be meant, because they are said afterwards to 'rule over many. Together † with the strange god whom he shall acknowledge: This is the most usual signification of the preposition; and if *Mahuzzim* be not considered as 'the strange god,' it is difficult to say who 'the strange god is. He ‡ shall multiply honour: Here is no conjunction, nor preposition inserted without authority from the original. 'He shall multiply honour: the noun is the same as the verb in the verse preceding, 'he shall honour. He shall multiply honour' to the defenders and champions of Mahuzzim, as well as to Mahuzzim themselves. Deifying Mahuzzim he shall also glorify their priests, and ministers: || 'and he shall cause them to rule over many, and the earth he shall divide for a reward.' The prophecy thus expounded, the completion becomes obvious and evident to the meanest capacity. The defenders and champions of Mahuzzim were the monks, and priests, and bishops: and of them it may most truly and properly be said, that they were 'increased with honour,' that they 'ruled over many, and divided the land for gain,' Mr Mede § applies the latter part to the Mahuzzim themselves: and he paraphrases it after this manner: "Yea he shall distribute the earth among his Mahuzzim; so that besides several patrimonies which in every country he shall allot them, he shall share whole kingdoms and provinces among them: Saint George shall have England, Saint Andrew Scotland, Saint Denis France, Saint James Spain, Saint Mark Venice, &c. and bear rule as presidents and patrons of their several countries." But it appears more natural and easy to understand it of the principal teachers and propagators of the worship of Mahuzzim, the bishops, and priests, and monks,

VOL. II. L and

* *למכר מדינתם* *usulibus Maorum*, ex *מכר*, significatu Arabico, *videtur esse intelligentiam*, ut significentur sacerdotes, qui dei illius cultum callebant, atque in eo populum instituebant. Lique ex verbo *דומינא דמדינתם* *dominus faciet eos*, notari in vocabulo *מכר* personas non munitiones. Houbigant in locum.

† *עם אלה נכר אשר הכיר* una cum deo, quem agnoscebat.

‡ *יכבד* multiplicabit honorem. Ver. 31. *יכבד* honorabit.

|| *והוא יכבד* et dominari faciet eos in multos: *והוא יכבד* et dominari faciet eos in multos: *והוא יכבד*

• *והוא יכבד* terramque partietur in mercedem.

§ Mede's Works, p. 672.

and religious orders: and that they have been honoured, and revered, and almost adored in former ages; that their authority and jurisdiction have extended over the purses and consciences of men; that they have been enriched with noble buildings and large endowments, and have had the choicest of the lands appropriated for church-lands; are points of such public notoriety, that they require no proof, as they will admit of no denial.

Such was the degeneracy of the Christian church, and now we shall see its punishment, especially in the eastern part of it. 'And at the time of the end shall the king of the south push at him, and the king of the north shall come against him like a whirlwind with chariots, and with horsemen, and with many ships, and he shall enter into the countries, and shall overflow, and pass over,' ver. 40. These things also * Porphyry refers to Antiochus: that in the eleventh year of his reign he warred again against his sister's son Ptolemy Philometor, who hearing of his coming gathered together many thousands of the people; but Antiochus like a whirlwind with chariots, and with horsemen, and with a great fleet entered into many countries, and in passing over laid all waste; and came to the famous land, that is Judea, and fortified the citadel out of the ruins of the walls of the city, and so marched forwards into Egypt. But here Porphyry may be convicted of falsifying history; for after Antiochus was dismissed out of Egypt by the Romans, he never ventured to go thither again. The eleventh was the last year of his reign: and all † historians agree, that the

* Et hæc Porphyrius ad Antiochum refert: quod undecimo anno regni sui rursus contra sororis filium Ptolemaum Philometorem dimicaverit. Qui audiens venire Antiochum, congregavit multa populorum millia. Sed Antiochus quasi tempestas valida in curribus, et in equitibus, et in classe magna ingressus sit terras plurimas, et transeundo universo vastavit: veneritque ad terram inclutam, id est, Judæam, et arcem munierit de ruinis murorum civitatis, et sic perrexerit in Ægyptum. Hieron. ibid.

† Obiit cum regnasset annos solidos undecim, Petavii Rat. Temp. Part. 1. Lib. 4. Cap. 10. So likewise Eusebius, Jerome, and Sulpitius Severus, Usher's Annals, A. M. 3840. Prideaux Connect. Part 1. B. 3. Anno 164.

‡ Macc. iii. 1, &c. vi. 1, &c. 2 Macc. ix. 1, &c. Joseph. Ant. lib. 12. Cap. 8. Sect. 1. p. 544. Edit. Hudson. Valosii Excerpt. p. 145. Appian. de Bell. Syr. p. 131. Edit. Steph. in Toliis Diodorus Siculus apud Hieron. Col. 1131.

the latter part of his reign was employed in his eastern expedition, in reducing Artaxias king of Armenia to his obedience, and in collecting the tribute among the Persians; and before he returned, he died. Others therefore * have said, that the prophet here resumes his former subject of the wars between Antiochus Epiphanes king of Syria, and Ptolemy Philometor king of Egypt. But it is not likely, after giving an account of the conclusion of those wars by the interposition of the Romans, that he should return to them again. Having hitherto deduced things in a regular series, it is more probable that he should continue that series, and proceed to other subsequent events, than that of a sudden he should stop short, and revert to Antiochus, after the intermixture of so many other affairs. But the question is not so much what it was probable for him to do, as what he actually hath done: and we shall find, that the remaining parts of the prophecy are more applicable to other subsequent events than to the transactions of Antiochus. The kings of the *south* and the *north* are to be taken and explained according to the times, of which the prophet is speaking. As long as the kingdoms of Egypt and Syria were subsisting, so long the Egyptian and Syrian kings were the kings of the south and the north: but when these kingdoms were swallowed up in the Roman empire, then the other powers became the kings of the south and the north. 'And at the time of the end,' that is, (as Mr Mede † rightly expounds it) in the latter days of the Roman empire; 'shall the king of the south push at him:' that is the Saracens, who were of the Arabians, and came from the south; and under the conduct of their false prophet Mohammed and his successors, made war upon the emperor Heraclius, and with amazing rapidity deprived him of Egypt, Syria, and many of his finest provinces. They were only to *push at*, and sorely wound the Greek empire, but they were not to subvert and destroy it. 'And the king of the north shall come against him like a whirlwind with chariots, and with horsemen, and with many ships, and he shall enter into the countries, and

L 2

shall

* Monochinus, Sanctius, Maldonatus, &c. apud Poli Synops. Calmet, Houbigant, &c. in locum.

† Mede's Works, B. 3. p. 674. and B. 4. p. 816.

shall overflow and pass over : that is the Turks, who were originally of the Scythians, and came from the north ; and after the Saracens seized on Syria, and assaulted with great violence the remains of the Greek empire, and in time rendered themselves absolute masters of the whole. The Saracens dismembered and weakened the Greek empire, but the Turks totally ruined and destroyed it : and for this reason, we may presume, so much more is said of the Turks than of the Saracens. Their *chariots* and their *horsemen* are particularly mentioned ; because their armies consisted chiefly of horse, especially before the institution of the Janizaries, and their standards still are horse tails. Their *ships* too are said to be many ; and indeed without many ships, they could never have gotten possession of so many islands and maritime countries, nor have so completely vanquished the Venetians, who were at that time the greatest naval power in Europe. What fleets, what armies were employed in the besieging and taking of Constantinople, of Negropont or Eubæa, of Rhodes, of Cyprus, and lastly of Candy or Crete ? The words ‘ shall enter into the countries, and overflow, and pass over,’ give us an exact idea of their *overflowing* the western parts of Asia, and then *passing over* into Europe, and fixing the seat of their empire at Constantinople, as they did under their seventh emperor Mohammed the second.

Among his other conquests the king of the north was to take possession of the holy land, and to subdue the neighbouring countries ; but the mixed people of Arabia were to escape out of his hands. ‘ He shall enter also into the glorious land, and many countries shall be overthrown ; but these shall escape out of his hand, even Edom, and Moab, and the chief of the children of Ammon,’ ver. 41. Porphyry and those of his opinion * affirm that Antiochus marching hastily against Ptolemy the king of the south, did not meddle with the Idumeans, and Moabites and Ammonites, who were situated on the side of Judea ; lest his being engaged in another war should

Antiochus, aiant, festinans contra Ptolemæum regem austri
pæoniæ, et Moabitæ, et Ammonitæ, qui ex latere Judææ e-
sistit ; ne occupatus alio prælio, Ptolemæum reddere
Hæstius. Ibid.

should render Ptolemy the stronger. Grotius saith, * that Antiochus spared these nations because they obeyed all his commands; and therefore the Maccabees made war upon them, as the friends of Antiochus. An ancient commentator and venerable father, Theodoret, on the contrary, † asserts, that neither do these things any more than the rest fit Antiochus; for having overthrown these nations, he constituted rulers over them, one of whom was Timotheus the commander of the Ammonites. This Timotheus, I suppose, was the same who is mentioned in the fifth chapter of the first book of Maccabees. The diversity of these accounts demonstrates the difficulty of accommodating this passage to Antiochus. If we believe Theodoret, it cannot be applied to Antiochus in any sense. If we rather follow Porphyry or Grotius, it can be applied to Antiochus only in an improper sense. The words, are, 'Many countries shall be overthrown, but these shall escape out of his hand.' The manner of expression sufficiently implies, that he should attempt to conquer *these* as well as the rest, but not with the same success. *These* should not like the rest 'be overthrown; & they should deliver themselves, and 'escape out of his hand;' and we read of no such transaction in the history of Antiochus. We shall find that the whole may be much better accommodated to the Othman empire. 'He shall enter also into the glorious land:' the same expression of 'the glorious land' was used before; ver. 16. and in both places it is rendered by the Syriac translator ‡ 'the land of Israel.' Now nothing is better known, than the Turks took possession of the holy land, and remain masters of it to this day. Sultan Selim || entered

L 3

into.

* His pepercit Antiochus quod omnia imperata facerent. Vide. 1. Macc. v. Ideo Maccabaei his populis, ut Antioghi amicis, bellum intrulere. Grot. in locum,

† Οὐδὲ ταῦτα δι' αἰσχροῦ ἐν τῷ Ἀντιόχῳ καὶ γὰρ τοὺς καταστρεφάμενος, ἡγούμενος αὐτοὺς παύσσειν, ὥς τις ἢ Τιμαχίος Ἀμμωνιτῶν ἡγούμενος. Neque haec Antiocho conveniunt; etenim cum hos subigisset, duces ipsis praefuit, ex quibus unus erat Timotheus dux Ammanitarum. Theodoret in locum, p. 690 Edit. Sirmondii.

‡ Stabique in terra Israelis. ver. 16. pervenietque ad terram Israelis, ver. 41. Syr.

|| Savage's Abridgment of Kneller and Rycart, Vol. 1. p. 242. Prince Cantemir's Hist. of the Othman Empire in Selim I. Sect. 27. p. 167. Joannis Leunclavii Pandect. Hist. Turcic. Cap. 110.

into Jerusalem in his way to Egypt. 'And many countries shall be overthrowen:' Aleppo, Damascus, Gaza, and the neighbourig cities and countries were forced to submit, and receive the yoke of the conqueror, 'But these shall escape out of his hand, even Edom and Moab, and the chief of the children of Ammon:' these were some of the people who inhabited Arabia, and the Arabians the Turks have never been able with their forces to subdue entirely. Sultan Selim their ninth emperor, was the conqueror of the neighbouring countries, and annexed them to the Othman empire; but he could not make a complete conquest of the Arabians. By large gift he brought over some of their chieftains, and persuaded them to a submission: and ever since his time, † the Othman emperors have paid them an annual pension of forty thousand crowns of gold for the safe passage of the caravans and pilgrims going to Mecca: and for their farther security the Sultan commonly orders the Bashha of Damascus to attend them with soldiers and water-bearers, and to take care that their number never fall short of fourteen thousand. This pension was not paid for some years on account of the war in Hungary: and what was the consequence? One of the Arabian princes in the year 1694, with several thousands of his countrymen, attacked and plundered the caravan going in pilgrimage to Mecca, and made them all prisoners. The neighbouring Bashhas were sent against him: but the prince defeated them all by a stratagem and put them to flight. Among the prisoners who had been taken was the most illustrious Chain of Tartary, whom the Arabians dismissed upon his parole, that he would carry their complaints to the Sultan, and procure the continuance of the pension. He stood to his engagement, and never ceased importuning the Othman court, till the arrears of the pension were duly paid. But notwithstanding this pension, the Arabians as often as they find a lucky opportunity,

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* Savage *ibid.* p. 248. Itaque Selymus per idoneos, homines plures eorum duces data fide ad se Memphim evocavit, et summa liberalitate prosecutus est: quorum exemplo fiebat, ut caeteri quoque accederent, acceptisque muneribus verba ejus continuo jurarent. Cantemir's *Hist. in Ahmed II. sect.* 49 p. 398. with also in Bojazet. II. *sect.* 1. p. 116. with note 2.

rob and plunder the Turks as well as other travellers. An instance of the same kind happened lately, and is related in the London Gazette of Feb. 11, 1758, "Constantinople, December 23, The Mecca caravan, which has been lately plundered, by the Arabs, was attacked by a numerous body of that people, some say, from 30 to 40,000. This action lasted 16 hours. They first cut off the Basha of Sion, who marched out as usual to supply the pilgrims with provisions, he was killed in the engagement, then they turned and attacked the caravan. The Emir Hodge, or commanding Basha, offered them 1000 purses of money to desert, but they refused any terms, being determined by a mere principle of revenge, for their tribes having been laid aside as conductors or guards to the caravan, and others substituted in their place and it is thought the removal of their favourite, Ezada Basha, from that post to Aleppo, had also some share in it. At the return to Damascus of the fugitive soldiery, who convoyed the caravan, those in the town rose up in arms against them, as traitors to their faith; a great slaughter ensued, and continued some time, but there are intimations since, that all is quieted there. The Basha of the caravan fled to Giza, with about 15 or 16 of his people, and it is thought he will lose his head. The riches lost to many cities of this empire, which are either taken by the Arabs, or dispersed in the deserts, are computed to amount to an immense sum, as they are supplied from India with all sorts of valuable merchandize, spices, &c. by the Red Sea canal. A like accident happened in the year 1694, under Ahmed the II." Other instances of the same kind have happened since, and are also recorded in the London Gazette, but I cannot recollect the dates, and at present have not the collection of Gazettes to apply to upon this occasion. So constantly have the Arabs maintained the same spirit in all ages; and there is no power that can effectually controul them. Armies have been sent against parties of the Arabians, but without success. These free booters have commonly been too cunning for their enemies and when it was thought that they were well nigh surrounded and taken, they have still escaped out of their hands.' So well doth this particular prediction relating to some of the tribes of the Arabi-

ans agree with that general one concerning the main body of the nation, Gen. xvi, 12. 'He will be a wild man; his hand will be against every man, and every man's hand against him: and he shall dwell in the presence of all his brethren.'

But though the Arabians should 'escape out of his hands,' yet Egypt should 'not escape,' but fall under his dominion with the adjoining countries. 'He shall stretch forth his hand also upon the countries, and the land of Egypt shall not escape. But he shall have power over the treasures of gold and silver, and over all the precious things of Egypt: and the Libyans and the Ethiopians shall be at his steps,' ver. 42, 43. We read, saith * Jerome, that Antiochus did these things in part: but what follows relating to the Libyans and Ethiopians, our doctors assert, agrees better with Antichrist; for Antiochus, did not possess Libya and Ethiopia. Theodoret too † affirms, that these things also by no means fit Antiochus, for he neither possessed Libya nor Ethiopia, nor even Egypt itself. This prophecy then cannot belong to Antiochus; and indeed the proper application is to the Othman emperor. 'He shall stretch forth his hand also upon the countries: This implies that his dominion should be of large extent, and he hath 'stretched forth his hand' upon many, not only Asian and European, but likewise African countries. Egypt in particular was destined to submit to his yoke: 'And the land of Egypt shall not escape; but he shall have power over the treasures of gold and silver, and over all the precious things of Egypt: and the conquest of Egypt with the neighbouring countries follows next in order after the conquest of Judea with the neighbouring countries, as in the prophecy, so likewise in history. The Othman emperor Selim, ‡ ha-

* Hæc Antiochum ex parte fecisse legimus. Sed quod sequitur, per Libyas et Æthiopias transibit, magis nostri asserunt Antichristo convenire. Antiochus enim Libyam quam plerique Africam intelligunt, Æthiopiæque non tenuit. Hieron. ibid.

† Καὶ ταῦτα ἐν ταῖς ἀνατολικαῖς ἀρχαῖς, οὐ καὶ τὰς ἀνατολικὰς ἀρχάς, οὐ καὶ τὰς ἀνατολικὰς ἀρχάς. Et hæc item minime conveniunt Antiocho: qui neque Libyam, neque Æthiopiæ, neque etiam ipsa Ægypto potitus est. Theod. ibid. p. 691.

‡ Prince Captemir. Hist. in Selim I. Sect. 16. p. 156, &c. Sa-
f's Abridgment of Knolles and Rycaut, Vol. I. p. 240, &c. Pauli
Jovii.

ving routed and slain Gauri sultan of Egypt in a battle near Aleppo, became master of all Syria and Judea. He then marched into Egypt against Tumanbai the new sultan, whom also having vanquished and taken prisoner, he barbarously ordered him to be hanged before one of the gates of Cairo : and so put an end to the government of the Mamalucs, and established that of the Turks in Egypt. The prophecy says particularly, ' that he should have power over the treasures of gold and of silver, and over all the precious things of Egypt : ' And history informs us, that * when Cairo was taken, " the Turks rifled the houses of the Egyptians, as well friends as foes, and suffered nothing to be locked or kept private from them : and Selim caused 500 of the chiefest families of the Egyptians to be transported to Constantinople, as likewise a great number of the Mamalucs wives and children, besides the sultan's treasure and other vast riches." And since that time it is impossible to say what immense treasures have been drained out of this rich and fertile, but oppressed and wretched country. The prophecy says farther, that some others also of the African nations should submit to the conqueror, ' the Libyans and the Ethiopians should be at his steps ; ' and we read in history, that † after the conquest of Egypt, " the terror of Selim's many victories now spreading wide, the kings of Africa bordering upon Cyrenica, sent their ambassadors with proffers to become his tributaries. Other more remote nations also towards Ethiopia were easily induced to join in amity with the Turks." At this present time also many places in Africa besides Egypt, as Algiers, Tunis, &c. are under the dominion of the Turks. One thing more is observable with regard to the fate of Egypt, that the particular prophecy coincides exactly with the general one, as it did before in the instance of Arabia. It was fore-

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Jovii Hist. Lib. 18. et Rerum Turc. Comment. in Selymo. Leunclav. Annales Turc. p. 341. Edit. Paris. p. 265. Edit. Venet. Pandect. Hist. Turc. Cap. 107, &c.

* Savage, *ibid.* p. 246, et 248. Pauli Jovii Hist. Lib. 18.

† Savage, *ibid.* p. 248. Ipsique Africa reges Cyreniacæ finitimi, qui pendere tributa, et Sulthanis certo fœdere parere consueverant, legationes destinabant. Omnesque hæ gentes, quæ ad Ethiopiam vergunt, sicuti amicitiam potius, quam imperium Sulthanorum agnoscebant, ita victoriæ fama perducta, in Turcicum fidem facile concessere. Pauli Jovii. Hist. Lib. 18. p. 1066. et 1065. Edit. Gryph. 1561.

told by Ezekiel, xxix. 14. xxx. 12. that Egypt should always be a 'base kingdom,' and subject to strangers; and here it is foretold, that in the latter times it should be made a province to the Turks, as we see at this day.

The two next, which are the two last verses of this chapter, I conceive, remain yet to be fulfilled. 'But tidings out of the east, and out of the north shall trouble him: therefore he shall go forth with great fury to destroy, and utterly to make away many. And he shall plant the tabernacles of his palace, *or rather* of his camp, between the seas in the glorious holy mountain, or as it is in the margin, 'the mountain of delight and holiness; yet he shall come to his end, and shall help him,' ver. 44, 45. Prideaux * and other learned men as well as Porphyry and Grotius, refer this passage to Antiochus; and to his bearing of the revolt of the provinces in the east, and of Artaxias in the north; and to his going forth therefore in great anger and with a great army to reduce them to obedience. But if this part might be fitly applied to Antiochus, yet how could he be said afterwards to 'plant the tabernacles of his camp between the seas in the glorious holy mountain; for he returned no more into Judea, but died in that eastern expedition? Porphyry therefore † considers the word *Apbedno*, which we translate 'his palace *or* his camp,' as the proper name of a place situated between the two great rivers, Tigris and Euphrates: But as Jerome replies, he cannot produce any history, wherein mention is made of any such place; neither can he say which is, 'the glorious and holy mountain;' beside the folly of interpreting two seas by two rivers. Father Houbigant ‡ understands it as the name of

* Prideaux Connect. Part 2. B. 3. Anno 164. Houbigant in loc. &c. &c. Porphyry. apud Hieron. Col. 1133. Grotius in locum. Nuntius belli a Partho et Armenio Partho ad orientem Antiocho, Armenii ad Septentrionem. De Partho testimonium habemus Taciti, ubi, de Judæis agit, "Rex Antiochus demere superstitionem et mores Græcorum dare admixit, quo minus terribilissimam gentem in melius mutaret, Parthico bello prohibitus est."

† *Apbedno*, qui inter duo latissima fluvius est flumina, Tigrim et Euphratem. Quumque hucusque processerit, in quo Monte inclyto cederit, et sancto, dicere non potest; quanquam inter duo maria cum cedis probare non potest; et stultum sit duo Mesopotamiae flumina, duo maria interpretari. Hieron. Col. 1133.

occidimus *Apbedno*, ut nomen loci, in montibus narrat Liber. Antiochum occidisse. Illic locus erat inter duo.

a place situated in the mountains, in which mountains the book of Maccabees relates Antiochus to have died. This place, says he, was 'between two seas,' namely the Caspian and Euxine, in Armenia itself, where Artaxias prepared rebellion. But neither doth he procure any authority for his assertions. Where doth he read of any such place as *Aphedno* between the Caspian and Euxine seas! Where doth he read that Antiochus died in the mountains of Armenia? The book of Maccabees, which he alledgeth, testifieth no such thing. Both the * books of Maccabees agree, that Antiochus died returning out of Persia, through Babylon according to the first book, through Ecbatna, according to the second, 'in the mountains' indeed, but it is not said in what mountains. Antiochus was victorious in Armenia, and did not lie there. Besides, with what propriety could any mountain in Armenia be called 'the glorious holy mountain?' Theodotion and Aquila too † render it *Ampbedanos* the proper name of a place, as doth Jerome also, who taketh it for a place near Nicopolis, which formerly was called Emmaus. Indeed if it be the name of any place, it must be some place in the holy land; because in the Psalms, cvi. 24. 'the pleasant land,' in Jer. iii. 19. 'the pleasant land, the goodly heritage,' and in Ezek. xx. 6. 'the glory of all lands' and constantly throughout the book of Daniel, 'the pleasant land,' viii. 9. 'the glorious land,' xi. 16. and again 'the glorious land,' ver. 41. are appellatives of the holy land; and so consequently 'the glorious holy mountain' must be Sion, or Olivet, or some mountain in the holy land, which lieth 'between the seas,' ‡ the Dead Sea on the east, and the Mediterranean on the west. But after all *Aphedno* doth not seem to be the name of any place. They who render it as the proper name of a place, most probably did not know what else to make of it: but the word

maria, nimirum mare Caspium et Pontum Euxinum, in Armenia ipsa, ubi rebellionem parabat Artaxias. Houbigant in locum.

* 1 Macc. IV. 4. 2 Macc. IX. 2, 28.

† Theodotio: *Et figet tabernaculum suum in Aphedno inter maria. Aquila: Et plantabit tabernaculum prætorii sui in Aφαδνυ inter maria. Aphedno juxta Nicopolim, quæ prius Emmaus vocabatur. Hier. Col. 1134.*

‡ Inter duo maria, mare videlicet quod nunc appellatur Moruum ab oriente, et mare Magnum. Hieron. Col. 1134.

word * occurs in Jonathan's Targum of Jeremiah, xliii. 70. and there it signifies 'a pavilion, and he shall spread his royal pavilion over them;' and to the same purpose it should be translated here, 'he shall plant the tabernacles of his camp between the seas in the glorious holy mountain.' This prophecy then cannot by the help of any explanation be made to fit and agree with Antiochus; and in our application of it to the Othman empire, as these events are yet future, we cannot pretend to point them out with any certainty and exactness. Mr Mede † supposeth, that "*the tidings from the east and north*" may be that of the return of Judah and Israel from those quarters. For Judah was carried captive at last into the east, and Israel by the Assyrian into the north, (namely in respect of the holy land) and in those parts the greatest number of each are dispersed at this day. Of the reduction of Israel from the north, see the prophecies Jer. xvi. 14, 15. and chap. xxiii. 8. also chap. xxxi. 8. Or if this *tidings from the north* may be some other thing, yet *that from the east* I may have some warrant to apply to the Jews return, from that of the *fourth vial* in the Apocalyps, xvi. 12. where the waters of the great river Euphrates are dried up, to prepare the way of the *kings of the east*. If this application be not admitted, yet it is universally known, that the Persians are seated to the east of the Othman dominions, and the Russians to the north. Persia hath indeed of late years been miserably torn and distracted by intestine divisions: but when it shall unite again in a settled government under one sovereign, it may become again, as it hath frequently been, a dangerous rival and enemy to the Othman emperor. The power of Russia is growing daily: and it is a current tradition among the common people in Turkey, that their empire shall one time or other be destroyed by the Russians. Sir Paul Rycaut in his account of the * Present State of the Greek Church, speaking of the respect and reverence which the Muscovites have for the see of Constantinople, says also that "the Greeks on the other side have an esteem and affection for the Muscovites, as for those whom
ancient

ancient prophecies mention to be designed by God, for their avengers and deliverers to after ages." Which if it proveeth nothing more, yet proveeth that the Greek church interpreted this prophecy much in the same sense as we explain it. However this may be, the Porte is at all times jealous of the junction of the two powers of Persia and Russia, and exerts all its policy to prevent it. They are certainly two very formidable neighbours to the Turks; and who can say what tidings may or may not come from thence to trouble the Porte? who can say, how unlikely soever it be at present, that they may not hereafter be made instruments of providence in the restoration of the Jews? Whatever be the motive and occasion, the Turk shall go forth with great fury to destroy, and utterly to make away many. The original word, which we translate 'utterly to make away,' * signifies *to anathematize, to consecrate, to devote to utter perdition*; so that it strongly implies, that this war should be made upon a religious account. And he shall plant the tabernacles of his camp between the seas in the glorious holy mountain. It is a notion advanced by † some commentators that here both the Turk and the Pope are signified, the former of whom hath fixed his seat between the Mediterranean and Ezrine seas at Constantinople, and the latter between the Mediterranean and Adriatic at Rome; both Antichrists, the one without, the other within the temple of God. But such notions are more ingenious than solid, and have rather the resemblance of worth than the substance. 'Between the seas in the glorious holy mountain' must denote, as we have shewn, some part of the holy land. There the Turk shall incamp with all his power, yet he shall come to his end, and none shall help him; ‡ shall help him effectually, or deliver him. The same times and the same events seem to be signified in this prophecy, as in that of Ezekiel concerning 'Gog of the land of Magog.' He likewise is a northern power. He is represented as of † Scythian extraction, chap. vii. 2. He cometh from his place out of the north parts, ver. 15.

Vol. II.

* *Anathematizari, anathematizari vel anathemati interire, perditioni devotum.* Glossæ. Devotum efficit. Buxtorf.

† See Paole, and his additional commentaries.

‡ Vide Bocharii Phleg. lib. 3. Cap. 12. Col. 15. &c.

His army too is described as consisting chiefly of 'horses and horsemen,' ver. 4. He likewise hath 'Ethiopia and Lybia with him,' ver. 5. 'He shall come up against the people of Israel in the latter days,' ver. 16. after their return from captivity, ver. 8. He too shall incamp 'upon the mountains of Israel,' xxxix. 2. He shall also 'fall upon the mountains of Israel, and all the people that is with him,' ver. 4. There the divine judgments shall overtake him, xxxviii. 22, 23. and God shall be 'magnified and sanctified in the eyes of many nations.'

At that time there shall be great tribulation, xii. 1. 'such as never was since there was a nation, even to that same time.' And after that shall be the general resurrection, ver. 2. 'and many of them that sleep in the dust of the earth shall awake, some to everlasting life, and some to shame and everlasting contempt.' They certainly are guilty of manifest violence and injury to the sacred text, and rack and torture the words to confess a meaning which they never meant, who contend that nothing more was meant in this passage, than the persecution of the Jews by Antiochus, and the Maccabees after some time coming out of the holes and caves of the earth, wherein they had concealed themselves from the fury and cruelty of their enemies. These critics usually pretend to be strong advocates for the literal and obvious meaning of the prophecies. but here they pervert the plainest expressions into figures, and prefer the most forced to the most natural interpretation. The troubles under Antiochus were neither in degree nor in duration to be compared to what the nation had suffered under Nebuchadnezzar; so that the time of Antiochus could not be reckoned 'a time of trouble, such as never was since there was a nation.' The Maccabees too came out of their lurking holes and caves, and recovered their city, and cleansed the sanctuary, even before the death of Antiochus himself: but the resurrection in this place is described as something subsequent to the destruction of the king of the north. Besides how could the Maccabees, who were a set of brave virtuous men, zealously devoted to their religion, liberty and country, by coming forth from the rocks and caves to oppose the enemy in the open field, be said to 'awake, some to everlasting life, and some to shame

name and everlasting contempt.' Such expressions can with truth and propriety be applied only to the general resurrection of the just and unjust: and though it be said 'many of them that sleep in the dust of the earth shall awake,' yet that is no objection to the truth here delivered; for as * Theodoret observed long ago, the prophet hath said *many* for *all*, in the same manner as St Paul hath put *many* for *all*, when he said, 'If through the offence of one *many* be dead, much more the grace of God, and the gift by grace which is by one man, Jesus Christ, hath abounded unto *many*.' Rom. v. 15. and again, ver. 19. 'As by one man's disobedience *many* were made sinners, so by the obedience of one shall *many* be made righteous.' The proper conclusion of all is the general resurrection, and the consequent happiness of the wise and good; ver. 3. 'And they that be wise, shall shine as the brightness of the firmament, and they that turn many to righteousness as the stars for ever and ever.'

The angel having thus finished his prophecy of the things 'noted in the scripture of truth,' an enquiry is made relating to the time of these events. It was laid before, xi. 40. 'At the time of the end shall the king of the south push at him:' and here the question is asked, ver. 6. † 'How long shall be the end of these wonders?' The answer is returned in the most solemn manner, ver. 7. 'that it shall be for a time, times and half. A time, times, and a half,' as there hath been occasion to shew in a former dissertation, are three prophetic years and a half; and three prophetic years and a half are 1260 prophetic days; and 1260 prophetic days are 1260 years. The same time therefore is prefixed for the desolation and oppression of the eastern church, as for the tyranny of the little horn, vii. 25. in the western church: And it is wonderfully remarkable, that the doctrine of Mohammed was first forged at Mecca, and the supremacy of the Pope was established by virtue of a grant from the wicked

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* πολλοι δε, αντι του παντος εφη. και γαρ ο μακαριος Παυλος αντι του παντος οι πολλοι τελευτοι λεγων, α. τ. λ. Multis autem pro omnes posuit, cum dixit. Scimus beatum quoque Paulus multis pro omnes posuit, cum dixit. kc. Theod. in locum, p. 693.

† τριακαι δυο μηνες Usque quo finis mirabilium; Pagnin. Usque quo finis mirabilium? Vulg. Eius finis est mirabilium. Sept.

ked tyrant Phocas, in the very same year of Christ 606.
 " It is to be observed, says, * Dean Prideaux, that Mahomet began this imposture about the same time that the Bishop of Rome, by virtue of a grant from the wicked tyrant Phocas, first assumed the title of Universal Pastor, and thereon claimed to himself that supremacy which he hath been ever since endeavouring to usurp over the Christian church. (Phocas made this grant A. D. 606. which was the very year that Mahomet retired to his cave to forge that imposture there, which two years after. A. D. 608. he began to propagate at Mecca). And from this time both having conspired to found themselves an empire in imposture, their followers have been ever since endeavouring by the same methods, that is, those of fire and sword, to propagate it among mankind : So that Antichrist seems at this time to have set both his feet upon Christendom together, the one in the east, and the other in the west, and how much each hath trampled upon the church of Christ, the ages ever since succeeding have abundantly experienced." There is a further notation of the time in the following words, ' And when he shall have accomplished to scatter the power of the holy people, all these things shall be finished : when the jews shall be recalled from their dispersion, then all these things shall receive their full and final completion. The prophet not sufficiently understanding this answer † inquired, ver. 8. What or how long shall be these latter times or latter wonders ?' And it is answered again, ver. 11. that ' from the time of taking away the daily sacrifice, and setting up the abomination that maketh desolate, there shall be a thousand two hundred and ninety days.' The days still are prophetic days or years : but even if they were natural days, they could by no manner of computation be accommodated to the times of Antiochus Epiphanes. The ' setting up the abomination of desolation' appears to be a general phrase, and comprehensive of various events. It is applied by a writer of the first book of Maccabees I. 54. to the profanation of the temple by Antiochus, and his setting up the image of Jupiter Olympius

* Life of Mahomet. p. 13. Edit. See also Bishop Jewel's Reply to Harding, p. 121.

† מלך מלכותו

pius upon the altar of God. It is applied by our Saviour, xxiv. 15. to the destruction of the city and temple by the Romans under the conduct of Titus, in the reign of Vespasian. It may for the same reason be applied to the Roman emperor Adiran's building a temple to Jupiter Capitolinus, in the same place where the temple of God had stood; and to the misery of the Jews, and the desolation of Judea that followed. It may with equal justice be applied to the Mohammedans invading and desolating Christendom, and converting the churches into mosques; and this latter event seemeth to have been particularly intended in this passage. If this interpretation be true, the religion of Mohammed will prevail in the east, the space of 1260 years, and then a great and glorious revolution will follow; perhaps the restoration of the Jews, perhaps the destruction of Antichrist; but another still greater and more glorious will succeed: and what can this be so probably as the full conversion of the Gentiles to the church of Christ and the beginning of the millennium or reign of the saints upon earth? for ver. 12. 'Blessed is he, that waiteth, and cometh to the thousand three hundred and five and thirty days.' Here are then three different periods assigned, 1260 years, 1290 years, and 1335 years: and what is the precise time of their beginning and consequently of their ending, as well as what are the great and signal events, which will take place at the end of each period, we can only conjecture, time alone can with certainty discover. If we are mistaken in our conjectures, it is no more than * Mr Mede and other much more learned men have been, who have gone before us in this argument. It is indeed no wonder that we cannot fully understand and explain these things: for as the angel said to Daniel himself, ver. 4 and 9. though 'many should run to and fro,' should enquire and examine into these things, and thereby 'knowledge should be increased, yet the full understanding of them is reserved for the time of the end. 'the words are closed up, and sealed till the time of the end.' But however the great uncertainty of these events, which remain yet to be fulfilled, cannot shake the credit and certainty of those parti-

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culars,

* See Mede's Works, Book 3. p. 717. De numeris Danielis.

culars, which have already been accomplished. As * *Pet. deaux* judiciously observes, it is the nature of such prophecies not to be thoroughly understood, till they are thoroughly fulfilled. Not that such prophecies are therefore like the pagan oracles, of an ambiguous, equivocal, and delusive nature. Obscure they may be, but there is a wide difference between obscurity, and equivocation. The pagan oracles were purposely worded in such a manner, that if they failed in one sense, they might hold good in another, though † directly the contray: the scripture-prophecies have a determined meaning, and though sometimes they may comprehend more events than one, yet are they never applicable to contrary events. The pagan oracles were delivered for the immediate direction of those who consulted them; and therefore a mistake at first was of more fatal consequence; the scripture-prophecies were intended more for the instruction and illumination of future ages, and therefore it is sufficient if time shall illustrate the particulars. The pagan oracles are no sooner understood, than they are despised, whereas the reverse is true of the scripture-prophecies; and the better you understand, the more you will admire them. The completion of the former demonstrates their fraud and futility, the completion of the latter their truth and dignity.

Upon the whole, what an amazing prophecy is this, comprehending so many various events, and extending through so many successive ages, from the first establishment of the Persian empire, above 530 years before Christ, to the general resurrection! And the farther it extends, and the more it comprehends, the more amazing surely, and the more divine it must appear, if not to an infidel like *Porphyry*, yet to all who like *Orotius* have any belief of revelation. How much noble and more exalted the sense, more important and more worthy to be known by men, and to be revealed by God, when taken in this extended view, and applied to this long and yet regular series of affairs, by the most easy and natural construction; than when confined and limited to the times and ac-

tions

* *Prid. Connect. Part 2. Book 3. in the conclusion.*

† As in these instances.

*Quamvis istam penetras magnam pervertat opum vim
Eacida, Romano vincere posse.*

as of Antiochus, to which yet it cannot be reconciled most strained and unnatural interpretation! What stronger and more convincing proofs can be given or required of a divine providence, and a divine revelation, that there is a God who directs and orders the transactions of the world, and that Daniel was a prophet inspired by him, 'a man greatly beloved,' as he is often addressed by the angel! Our blessed Saviour, Matt. xxiv. 15. hath bestowed upon him the appellation of 'Daniel the prophet;' and that is authority sufficient for any Christian: but in this work have been produced such instances and attestations of his being a prophet, as an infidel cannot deny, or if he denies, cannot disprove. The character that is given of him by Josephus is nothing more than strictly his due. It expresseth the sense of the Jewish church; and the same must be the sentiments of every man, who will consider and compare the prophecies and events together. This historian is commending the superior excellence of Daniel's predictions; "for he was wont, * says he, not only to foretel future things, as other prophets also did, but he likewise determined the time wherein they should happen." Afterwards having mentioned some of Daniel's prophecies he † proceeds thus: "All these things, God having shewn them to him, he left them in writing, that they who read them, and behold the events, might admire Daniel for the honour vouchsafed unto him by God; and by these things might be convinced how much the Epicureans are mistaken, who deny a providence, and

* Ου γὰρ τὰ πολλὰ μόνον προφητῶν διττοί, καθάπερ καὶ ἡ ἀλλὰ προφηταὶ ἀλλὰ καὶ αἰσιν ὀρίζιν, οἷς ἐν ταῦτα ἀποδείκνυνται. Non enim futura solum, quemadmodum et alii vates, praedicere solebat, sed et tempus, quo haec evenitura erant, praefinivit. Joseph. Antiq. Lib. 10. Cap. 11. Sect. 7. p. 405. Edit. Hudson.

† ταῦτα πάντα ἱκανῶς, Θεὸς δείκνους αὐτῷ, εὐγγράφας καταλειψάν, ὅτι τὴν ἀναγκασάντας, καὶ τὰ συμβαίνοντα σκοπόντας. Δευμάζων ἐπὶ τῇ παρὰ τοῦ Θεοῦ τιμῇ τοῦ Δανιηλὸς καὶ τὴν Ἐπικυροῦντι ἐκ τούτων ἱερῶν πει-
πλανημένος, εἰ τὴν τι προσημαίνετο, τὸ βῆ καὶ τῶν Θεῶν ἀπ' αἰῶνος ἐπι-
τρεπτικῶν τῶν πραγμάτων, ὅδ' ὅπου τῆς μακαρίας καὶ ἀφθάρτου πρὸς διαμονὴν
τῶν ὅλων υἱοῦς κυδερνᾶσαι τὰ συμπάντα ἀραιοῖ δ' ἡνίχου καὶ φροντιστοῦ τοῦ
αὐτομάτως φηρῶντος λίγισιν. ὅς ἐστι τὰς ἀποστασίας ἢ τῶν τροπῶν,
καθάπερ καὶ τὰς ναυς ἰερῶν κυδερνῶνται καταδυσόμεναι ὕδατιν ὅπου τῶν πνι-
μάτων ἢ καὶ τὰ ἀρματα περιτρισεύμενα μὴ ἔχοντα τὴν ἡνίχου, εὐστρεφῶς
ἀν' αὐτοῦ τῆς ἀποστασίας φέρας, ἀκαταλῆλαι διαφθάρουσι. τῆς γὰρ προσημαίνου-
σιν ἐπὶ Δανιηλ, δυνάμις μὴ σφοδρὰ τῆς ἀληθείας διέξῃ διαμαρτυροῦν. εἰ τὸν Θεὸν
μυθῶνται

and allow not that God regards human actions, nor that all things are governed by a blessed and immortal Being, for the preservation of the whole, but assert that the world is carried on at random without a guide or ruler: which if it was without a governor as they pretend, would have been destroyed by the blind impulse, and have perished and come to nought, as we see ships, which are destitute of pilots, overwhelmed by the storms, and chariots overturned and broken to pieces, which have no drivers. For by these things predicted by Daniel, they appear to me widely to err from the truth, who declare, that God hath no care of human affairs: for we should not see all things succeed according to his prophecies, if it happened that the world was governed by chance."

In short we see how well Daniel deserves the character which his contemporary Ezekiel hath given him, xiv. and xxviii. for his *piety* and *wisdom*: and these usually go together, for as the angel saith, ver. 10. none of the wicked shall understand, but the wise shall understand. Happy are they who both know the will of God and do it!

TO

μηδὲ μὴν εἶναι περὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἀποφαινομένη πρόνοιαν οὐ γὰρ ἀνὰ τὴν
 εὐεχὴν προφητείαν, ἐν συνθήκῃ αὐτοματισμῷ τινὶ τοῦ κόσμου διαγεῖν, πάντα
 ἔργα αὐτοδυναμεῖται. Ista omnia, a Deo sibi monstrata, scriptis con-
 signata reliquit: ut qui ea legerint, et evenisse conspexerint, Dan-
 ielem mirentur ob tam insignem honorem. Quod si non providentiam
 Epicureos magno in errore versari deprehendimus, quod providentiam
 evicta ejiciunt, et a Deo res humanas curari existimant, nec
 omnia a natura beata et immortalī (ad universitatis rerum peren-
 nitatem) regi et administrari volunt, sed sine rectore et curatore
 mundum suoque impetu ferri asseverant: qui si ita ut illi autu-
 mant præside careret, quemadmodum naves sine gubernatoribus
 videmus procelles et fluctibus obrui, currusque aurigis destitutos
 percelli, temerario sane motu labefactatus concideret periretque.
 Cumque ista prædicta fuerint a Daniele, videntur mihi a vera
 opinione multum aberrare qui Deum non curare pronunciant
 quid agat genus humanum: non enim vaticiniis ejus eventus
 respondisse conspiceremus, si omnia in mundo temeritate re-
 gerentur. ibid p. 466.

TO HIS GRACE THE
 LORD ARCHBISHOP
 OF
 YORK:
 (DR GILBERT.)

May it please your GRACE,

THE very favourable opinion that your GRACE was pleased to express of the first part of this work, encourages me to set forth this last under your patronage and protection. This last is the most difficult, but yet it has been to me the most entertaining part of all. How it may approve itself to your GRACE and others, I cannot pretend to say: but having been perused by the same three eminently learned persons as the former part, it may be presumed on that account to be less unfit for me to offer, and for your GRACE to receive. At the same time it affords me an additional pleasure in giving me an opportunity of acknowledging publicly my obligations to your GRACE for favours great in themselves, but made much greater by your handsome manner of conferring them, unsolicited, unasked, unexpected. I will not say undeserved, because that would be calling your GRACE's judgment in question; but I will endeavour to deserve them: and indeed I should think any preferment ill bestowed upon me, that did not incite and animate me more to prosecute my studies, and thereby to prove myself more worthy of your GRACE's favour and kindness to,

My Lord,

Your GRACE's ever obliged,

and dutiful humble servant,

THOMAS NEWTON.

DISSERTATIONS

ON THE

PROPHECIES

XVIII.

OUR SAVIOUR'S PROPHECIES RELATING TO THE
DESTRUCTION OF JERUSALEM.

IN FOUR PARTS.

PART I.

THE Jewish church, consisting only of a single nation, and living under a theocracy or the immediate government of God, experienced continual interpositions of a particular extraordinary providence in its favour and protection, and was from time to time instructed by prophets raised up and sent one after another as occasions required. But the Christian church being designed to comprehend the whole world, was like the world at first erected by miracle, but like the world too is since governed by a general ordinary providence, by established laws, and the mediation of second causes. This difference in the nature and constitution of the two churches, is the reason why prophecies, and miracles, and other supernatural powers, which were continued so long, and repeated so frequently in the Jewish church, were in the Christian church confined to the first ages, and limited chiefly to the persons of our blessed Saviour, and his disciples, and their companions. There were 'prophets,' Acts xi. 27. who 'came from Jerusalem unto Antioch. One of them named Agabus,' ver. 28. foretold the 'great dearth, which came to pass in the days of Claudius Cæsar.' The same prophet foretold likewise, Acts

xxi. 10, 11. the bonds and imprisonment of St Paul. Philip the evangelist had also, ver. 9. 'four daughters, virgin, which did prophesy.' Prophetic as well as other spiritual gifts abounded in the primitive church; 'their sons and their daughters did prophesy,' Acts ii. 17. 'their young men saw visions, and their old men dreamed dreams.' But the only prophecies, which the Spirit of God hath thought fit to record and preserve, are some delivered by our blessed Saviour himself, and by his apostles, particularly St Paul and St John.

Our blessed Saviour, as he was the great subject of prophecy, so was an illustrious prophet himself; as he excelled in all other spiritual gifts and graces, so was eminent in this also) and gave ample proofs of his divine commission by his prophecies as well as by his miracles. What he said upon one occasion, is equally applicable to all his predictions, that their accomplishment is a sufficient attestation of his being the Messiah: John xiii. 19. 'Now I tell you before it come, that when it is come to pass, ye may believe that I am he.' He foretold not only his own passion, death, and resurrection, but also the manner and circumstances of them, that he should be betrayed by one of the twelve, even by Judas Iscariot the son of Simon; that all the rest should be offended because of him that very night, and notwithstanding their protestations to the contrary should forsake him and fly; that Peter particularly, who was more zealous and eager than the rest, before the cock crew twice, should deny him thrice; that he should be betrayed to the chief priests, and be delivered to the Gentiles to mock, and to scourge, to spit upon, and to kill him; that he should be crucified, and the third day should rise again, and appear to his disciples in Galilee.' He foretold that his apostles should be enabled of plain fishers to become fishers of men; that they should be endued with power from on high to speak with new tongues and to work miracles; that they should go forth into all nations, and publish the glad tidings of the gospel unto the uttermost parts of the earth. He foretold the persecutions and sufferings which his disciples should undergo, and particularly by what manner of death Peter in his old age should glorify God, and that John should survive till after the destruction Jerusalem.

rusalem. He foretold the rejection of the Jews and the calling of the Gentiles; that the kingdom of heaven should be taken away from the former, and be given to the latter, who should bring forth the fruit thereof; that the number of his disciples from small beginnings should increase wonderfully, as a little seed groweth into a tree, and a little leaven leaveneth the whole lump; that his church shall be so founded upon a rock, that it should stand for ever, and all the powers of hell should not prevail against it. These things were most of them contrary to all human appearances, and impossible to be foreseen by human prudence or effected by human power; and he must be thoroughly acquainted with the hearts of men, and with the direction and disposition of future events, who could foretell them with such certainty and exactness; and some of them are actually accomplishing in the world at this present time.

But none of our Saviour's prophecies are more remarkable than those relating to the destruction of Jerusalem, as none are more proper and pertinent to the design of these discourses; and we will consider them as they lie in the twenty-fourth chapter of St Matthew, taking in also what is super-added by the other evangelists upon parallel occasions. These prophecies were delivered by our Saviour about forty years, and were committed to writing by St Matthew about thirty years, before they were to take effect. St Matthew's is universally allowed to be the * first of the four Gospels; the first in time as it is always placed the first in order. It was written, as † most writers affirm, in the eighth year after the ascension of our Saviour. It must have been written before the

* *πρῶτον μὲν γέγραπται τοῦ κατὰ τοῦ πωτὶ τέλους, δεύτερον δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ Ματθαίου.* Primum evangelium scriptum esse a Matthæo, prius, quidem publicano, postea vero apostolo Jesu Christi. Orig. apud Euseb. Eccles. Hist. Lib. 6. Cap. 25. &c. &c.

† On croit que saint Matthieu commença a travailler a son evangile, la huitieme année apres la resurrection du Saviour; c'est a dire, l'an 41 de l'ere vulgaire. Presque tous les anciens manuscrits Grecs le marquent ainsi a la fin de son volume. Calmet Preface. Magno consensu perhibent Patres Matthæum, in gratiam credentium ex Judæis in Palaestina, evangelium suum scripsisse. et quidem, ut multi addunt, Hierosolymis, octavo post ascensionem Christi anno, qui Claudii imperatoris primus fuit.

the dispersion of the apostles, because * St Bartholomew is said to have taken it along with him into India, and to have left it there, where it was found several years afterwards by Pantæus. If the general tradition of antiquity be true, that it was written originally in Hebrew, it certainly was written before the destruction of Jerusalem, for there was no occasion for writing in that language after the destruction of Jerusalem and the dispersion of the Jews into all nations. It is asserted upon † good authority, that the Gospels of Mark and Luke were approved and confirmed, the one by St Peter, the other by St Paul. So Papius Bishop of Hierapolis, and Clemens Alexandrinus, say expressly that the Gospel of St Mark was written at the desire of the new converts, and ratified by St Peter. So the learned Origen affirms, that the second Gospel is that of Mark, who wrote as Peter dictated to him; and the third Gospel is that of Luke, which is commended by Paul. So Tertullian saith, that Mark's Gospel is affirmed to be Peter's, whose interpreter Mark was: and Luke's Gospel they are wont to ascribe to Paul. So Jerome saith, that the Gospel according to Mark, who was the disciple and interpreter of Peter, is said to be Peter's. These authorities are more than sufficient to weigh down the single testimony of Irenæus to the contrary; but besides these Gregory Nazianzen, Athanasius, and other Fathers might be alledged to prove, that the Gospels of Mark and Luke received the approbation, the one of St Peter, the other of St Paul: and it is very well known, that both these apostles suffered martyrdom under Nero. The Gospel of St Mark must have been written at latest in the reign of Nero; for he died in that reign, in the ‡ eighth year of Nero according to Jerome. The Gospel of St Luke was written before the Acts of the Apostles, as appears from the preface to the latter; and the Acts of the Apostles concluding with St Paul's dwelling at

VOL. II.

N

Rome

* Euseb. Eccles. Hist. Lib. 5. Cap. 10. Hieron. Catalog. Script. Eccles. in Pantæno. p. 112. Vol. 4. Par. 2. Edit. Benedict.

† Papias et Clemens Alex. apud Euseb. Hist. Eccles. Lib. 2. Cap. 15. Origen apud Euseb. Lib. 6. Cap. 25. Tertull. Advers. Marcion. Lib. 4. Sect. 5. p. 416. Edit. Rigaltii, Paris. 1675. Hieron. de Script. Eccles. p. 101. Vol. 4. Edit. Benedict. &c. &c.

‡ Martius est autem Octavo Neronis anno. De Script. Eccles. ep. 105. Vol. 4. Edit. Benedict.

Rome two years, it is probable that this book was written soon after that time, and before the death of St Paul. It may be concluded then as certain, that three of the four Gospels were written and published before the destruction of Jerusalem; Dr Lardner himself, who fixed the time of writing the three first Gospels later than most other authors, yet * maintains that they were all published some years before the destruction of Jerusalem; and in all probability the writers themselves were dead before that period; St Matthew and St Mark were certainly so: and consequently it cannot with any colour of reason be pretended, that the predictions were written after the events. St John is the only evangelist, who lived and wrote after the destruction of Jerusalem; and he purposely omits these prophecies, to prevent this very cavil, as we may suppose with reason. Neither can it be pretended, that these predictions were † interpolations made afterwards, because they are inserted in several places, and woven into the very substance of the Gospels; and because they are cited and alluded to by ancient writers, as well as other parts; and because they were not to be accomplished all at once, but required several ages to their perfect completion; and we see them, in some instances, fulfilling to this very day.

In the conclusion of the twenty-third chapter of St Matthew, our Saviour had with the most merciful severity, with the most compassionate justice, pronounced the sentence of desolation upon Jerusalem: ver. 37, 38. ‘O Jerusalem, Jerusalem, thou that killest the prophets, and stonest them which are sent unto thee, how often would I have gathered thy children together, even as a hen gathereth her chickens under her wings, and ye would not! Behold, your house is left unto you desolate.’ In like manner, upon another occasion, when he was approaching to Jerusalem, Luke xix. 41, 42. ‘he beheld the city, and wept over it, saying, If thou hadst known, even thou, at least in this thy day, the things which belong unto thy peace! but now they are hid from thine eyes.’ So deeply

* See vol. I. of his Supplement to the Credibility of the Gospel History

† See this argument pursued more at large in Dr Jortin's Remarks on Ecclesiastical History, Vol. I. p. 72—77.

It was our Saviour affected, and so tenderly did he lament over the calamities, which were coming upon his nation! Such a generous and amiable pattern of a patriot spirit hath he left to his disciples; and so contrary to truth is the insinuation of a * noble writer, that there is nothing in the Gospels to recommend and encourage the love of one's country.

When our Saviour uttered that pathetic lamentation recorded in the twenty-third chapter of St Matthew, he was in the temple, speaking to a mixed audience of his disciples and the multitude: and as he was departing out of the temple, (ver. 1st of the twenty-fourth chapter), 'his disciples came to him for to shew him the buildings of the temple,' intimating what a pitiable calamity they thought it, that so magnificent a structure should be destroyed. In the other Gospels they are represented as saying, Mark xiii. 1. 'Master, see what manner of stones, and what buildings are here;' and as speaking of the temple, Luke xxi. 5. 'how it was adorned with goodly stones, and gifts.' The gifts of ages were deposited there, the † presents of kings and emperors as well as the offerings of the Jews: and as the whole temple was built with the greatest cost and magnificence, so nothing was more stupendous than the uncommon measure of the stones. The disciples appear to have admired them particularly, and to have thought them very extraordinary; and indeed they were of a size almost incredible. Those ‡ employed in the foundations were in magnitude forty cubits, that is above sixty feet, a cubit being somewhat more than a foot and a half: and the superstructure was worthy of such foundations. There were some stones of the whitest marble forty-five cubits long, five cubits high, and six cubits broad, as a priest of the temple hath described them.

N 2

Such

* Shaftsbury's Characteristics. Vol. 1. p. 99.

† Vide Joseph. de Bell. Jud. Lib. 5. Cap. 13. Sect. 6. Edit. Hud.

‡ *πιστοι δὲ τεσσαρεσκατὰ πηχὺς το μέγας ἦσαν τὰ θεμελίους. Saxorum vero in extrucone usi sunt quadragenorum cubitorum magnitudinis. — Ἡ δὲ αἰτία τῶν τοιούτων θεμελιῶν καὶ τὰ ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν ἔργα. Tantis autem fundamentis digna erant opera illis inposita. — τῶν δὲ ἐν αὐτῷ λίθων ἑκάστης πέντε καὶ τεσσαρεσκατὰ πηχῶν ἦσαν, ὕψος πέντε, μέτρος δὲ ἕξ. Saxorum autem, quibus extruendum erat templum, quedam erant XLV. cubitos longa, alta V. et lata VI. Joseph. de Bell. Jud. Lib. 5. Cap. 5. Sect. 1, 2, 6. Edit. Hudson.*

Such a structure as this, one would have expected, might have endured for many generations ; and was indeed worthy of the highest admiration ; but notwithstanding our Saviour assures his disciples, ver. 6. ' There shall not be left here one stone upon another, that shall not be thrown down.' Our Saviour in his prophecies frequently alludes to phrases and expressions used by the ancient prophets ; and as the prophet Haggai, ii. 15. expresseth the building of the temple by ' a stone being laid upon a stone,' so Christ expresseth the destruction of it by ' one stone not being left upon another.' In the same manner he speaketh of and to the city, Luke xix. 44. ' They shall lay thee even with the ground, and shall not leave in thee one stone upon another.' It is a proverbial and figurative manner of expression, to denote an utter destruction, and the prophecy would have been amply fulfilled, if the city and temple had been utterly ruined, though every single stone had not been overturned. But it happened in this case, that the words were almost literally fulfilled, and scarce ' one stone was left upon another.' For when the Romans had taken Jerusalem * ' Titus ordered his soldiers to dig up the foundations both of all the city and the temple. The temple was a building of such strength and grandeur, of such splendour and beauty, that it was likely to be preserved, as it was worthy to be preserved, for a monument of the victory and glory of the Roman empire. Titus was accordingly very desirous of preserving it, and † protested to the Jews, who had fortified themselves within it, that he would preserve it, even against their will. He had ‡ expressed the like desire of preserving the city too, and sent Josephus and other Jews again and again to their countrymen, to persuade them to a surrender. But an over-ruling providence directed things otherwise. The Jews themselves || first set fire to the porticoes of the temple,

* κελυειν και σαρ ηδη την τε πολιν απασαν και τον ναον κατασκευατταν, jubet eis Caesar totam funditus jam evertere civitatem et templum. Joseph. de Bell. Jud. Lib. 7. Cap. 1. Sect. 1. p. 1295. Edit. Hudson.

† τηρησω δι τον ναον ημιν και μη θιλωσι. Vobis autem etiam in vobis templum servabo. Joseph. de Bell. Jud. Lib. 6. Cap. 2. Sect. 4. p. 1269. Edit. Hudson.

‡ Joseph. de Bell. Jud. Lib. 5. Cap. 8. Sect. 1. Cap. 9. Sect. 2. Cap. 11. Sect. 2. Lib. 6. Cap. 2. Sect. 9. Edit. Hudson.

|| Joseph. de Bell. Jud. Lib. 6. Cap. 2. Sect. 9. Edit. Hudson.

and then the Roman One of the soldiers, * neither waiting for any commands, nor trembling for such an attempt, but urged by a certain divine impulse, threw a burning brand in at the golden window, and thereby set fire to the buildings of the temple itself. Titus † ran immediately to the temple, and commanded his soldiers to extinguish the flame. But neither exhortations nor threatenings could restrain their violence. They either could not hear or would not hear; and those behind encouraged those before to set fire to the temple. He was still for preserving the holy place. He commanded his soldiers even to be beaten for disobeying him: but their anger, and their hatred of the Jews, and a certain warlike vehement fury overcame their reverence for their general, and their dread for his commands. A soldier in the dark set fire to the doors: and thus, as Josephus ‡ says, the temple was burnt against the will of Cæsar. Afterwards, as we || read in the Jewish Talmud and in Maimonides, Turnus Rufus, or rather § Terentius Rufus, who was left to command the army at Jerusalem, did with a ploughshare tear up the foundation of the temple; and thereby signally fulfilled those words of Micah, iii. 12. 'Therefore shall Zion for your sake be ploughed as a field.' Eusebius ¶ too affirms, that it was ploughed up by the Romans, and he saw it lying in ruins. The ** city also shared the same fate, and was burnt and destroyed as well as the temple,

N 3

* ἐν ᾧ δὴ τῶν στρατιῶν τις, ὡς παραγγελία περιμεινας, ὡς τηλικῶ-
 τῳ δειπας ἐγχειρηματι, δαιμονίῳ ὁρμῇ τινι χρομενος, κ. τ. λ. Quo tempore
 miles quidam, non expectato cujusquam mandato, neque tantum
 facinus veritus, divino quodam impetu fretus, &c. Joseph. de
 Bell. Jud. Lib. 6. Cap. 4. Sect. 5. p. 1279. Edit. Hudson.

† Joseph. ibid. Sect. 6. et 7.

‡ ὁ μὲν ὡν ναὸς ἦν καὶ τοσούτοις Καίσαρος, ἐμπιπράται. Et templum qui-
 dem hoc modo exurit, invito Cæsare, Sect. 7. p. 1279.

See them quoted in Lightfoot, Whitby, Wetstein, &c. upon the place.

§ Τερέντιος Ρυφὸς ὅστος γὰρ ἀρχὸν τῆς στρατίας κατελείπει. Teren-
 tius Rufus; namque is exercitui præfectus relictus erat. Joseph.
 de Bell. Jud. Lib. 7. Cap. 2. p. 1293.

¶ Eusebii Demonf. Evangel. Lib. 6. Cap. 13. p. 273. Edit. Paris.
 1628.

** Joseph. de Bell. Jud. Lib. 6. Cap. 6. Sect. 3. Cap. 7. Sect.
 4. Cap. 8. Sect. 5. Edit. Hudson.

temple. The * Romans burnt the extremest parts of the city, and demolished the walls. Three † towers only and some part of the wall were left standing, for the better incamping of the soldiers, and to shew to posterity what a city and how fortified the valour of the Romans had taken. All the rest of the city was so demolished and levelled with the ground, that they who came to see it, could not believe that it was ever inhabited. After the city was thus taken and destroyed, ‡ great riches were found among the ruins, and the Romans dug it up in search of the treasures, which had been concealed and buried in the earth. So literally were our Saviour's words accomplished in the ruin both of the city and of the temple: and well might Eleazar || say, that God had delivered his most holy city to be burnt, and to be subverted by their enemies; and ¶ with that they all had died, before they saw that holy city demolished by the hands of their enemies, and the sacred temple so wickedly dug up from the foundations.

In this plain manner our Saviour, now drawing near to his fatal hour, foretold the absolute ruin and destruction of the city and temple. The disciples were curious to know more of these events, when they should be, and how they should be; but yet thought it not proper to ask him at present, the multitude probably still flocking about him: and therefore they take an opportunity of coming unto him 'privately, as he was sitting upon the mount of Olives,' from whence was a good prospect of the city and temple, and there prefer their request to him, ver. 3. 'Tell us when shall these things be, and what shall be the

* *Ρωμαίοι δὲ τῆς τε ἰσχυρίας τῆς αἰῶς ἐνπύρσαν, καὶ τὰ τεῖχη κατέκαψαν.* Romani vero extremas urbis partes incendierunt, et inania funditus everterunt. Joseph. *ibid.* Cap. 9. Sect. 4. p. 1292. Ed. Hudson.

† Joseph. de Bell. Jud. Lib. 7. Cap. 1. Sect. 1. Edit. Hudson.

‡ Joseph. *ibid.* Cap. 5. Sect. 2.

|| *πολεμιατα δὲ τῆς ἰερᾶς τῆς αὐτῆς πόλιν πυρὶ καὶ κατασκαφαῖς, πολιορκίῳ, Urbemque sibi sacratissimam tradidit hostibus ut incendio periret et funditus dirueretur.* Joseph. *ibid.* Cap. 8. Sect. 6. p. 1318.

¶ *ἀλλ' εἶπε πάντες ἐτίθνηκεν, πρὶν τὴν ἰερὰν ἱερὴν πόλιν χερσὶν ἰδὲν κατασκαφτομένην πολιορκίῳ, πρὶν τοὺς ναοὺς τοὺς ἁγίους ὅπως ἀποσιῶν ἐξολοθῇ.* Atque utinam omnes fuissetis mortui, priusquam illam sacram civitatem hostium manibus excindi videremus, priusquam templum tanta impietate funditus erui. Joseph. *ibid.* Sect. 7. p. 1322. Edit. Hudson.

the sign of thy coming, and of the end of the world?' These are only different expressions to denote the same period with the destruction of Jerusalem; for when they conceived would be the destruction of Jerusalem, then they conceived would be the coming of Christ; and when they conceived would be the coming of Christ, then they conceived would be 'the end of the world,' or * rather (as it should be rendered) 'the conclusion of the age.' The end of the world or the conclusion of the age is the same period with the destruction of Jerusalem: for there being two ages (as they were called) among the Jews, the one under the law, the other under the Messiah; when the city and temple were destroyed, and the Jewish polity in church and state was dissolved, the former age must of course be concluded, and the age under the Messiah be commenced. It is true the phrase *συντελεια του αιωνος* most usually signifies 'the end of the world' properly so called; as in the parable of the tares, Matt. xiii. 39. 'the harvest is' *συντελεια του αιωνος*; 'the end of the world; As therefore the tares,' ver. 40. 'are gathered and burnt in the fire, so shall it be' *εν τη συντελεια του αιωνος τω* 'in the end of this world.' And again, ver. 49. 'So shall it be' *εν τη συντελεια του αιωνος* 'at the end of the world, the angels shall come forth, and sever the wicked from among the just.' In like manner our Saviour says to his disciples, Matt. xxviii. 20. 'Lo, I am with you alway,' *ως της συντελειας του αιωνος* 'even unto the end of the world.' But here the phrase appears to be used much in the same manner as in the Epistle to the Hebrews, ix. 20. 'But now once in the end of the world hath he appeared to put away sin by the sacrifice of himself; in the end of the world,' *επι συντελεια των αιωνων*, in the conclusion of the Jewish age or ages: And these I think, are all the places where the phrase occurs in scripture. 'The coming of Christ' is also the same period with the destruction of Jerusalem, as may appear from several places in the Gospels, and particularly from these two passages. 'There are some standing here,' saith our blessed Lord, Matth. xvi. 28. 'who shall not taste of death, till they see the son of man coming in his kingdom,' that is evidently, there are some standing here who shall live, not till the end of the world, to the coming

* *συντελεια του αιωνος*

ing of Christ to judge mankind, but till the destruction of Jerusalem, to the coming of Christ in judgment upon the Jews. In another place, John xxi. 22. speaking to Peter concerning John, he saith, 'If I will that he tarry till I come, what is that to thee?' what is it to thee, If I will that he live till the destruction of Jerusalem? as in truth he did, and longer. 'The coming of Christ' and 'the conclusion of the age' being therefore only different expressions to denote the same period with the destruction of Jerusalem, the purport of the question plainly is, 'when shall the destruction of Jerusalem be, and what shall be the signs of it?' In the parallel place of St Mark, xiii. 4. the question is put thus, 'When shall these things be, and what shall be the sign when all these things shall be fulfilled?' In the parallel place of St Luke, xxi. 7. the question is put thus, 'When shall these things be, and what sign shall there be when these things shall come to pass?' So that the disciples ask two things, first the *time* of the destruction of Jerusalem, 'when these things shall be;' and secondly the *signs* of it, 'and what shall be the sign when all these things shall be fulfilled' as it is in St Mark, 'and what will be the sign when these things shall come to pass' as it is in St Luke, 'and what shall be the sign of thy coming and of the conclusion of the age' as it is in St Matthew. The latter part of the question our Saviour answereth first, and treateth of the *signs* of his coming and the destruction of Jerusalem from the 4th to the 31st verse inclusive; and then passeth on to the other part of the question concerning the *time* of his coming; And these two heads of our Saviour's answer shall likewise in the same method and order be made the subject of this and some subsequent discourses.

Our blessed Saviour treateth of the signs of his coming and the destruction of Jerusalem from the 4th to the 31st verse inclusive; by *signs* meaning the circumstances and accidents, which should fore-run, usher in, and attend this great event, and I am persuaded the whole compass of history cannot furnish us with a prophecy more exactly fulfilled in all points than this hath been.

False Christs our Saviour mentions as the first sign of his coming, ver. 4. and 5. 'Take heed that no man deceive you: for many shall come in my name, saying, I am

Christ; and shall deceive many.' With this he begins in all the evangelists, and in all useth almost the very same words; only in St Luke, xxi. 8. he addeth 'the time draweth near; and indeed within a little time this part of the prophecy began to be fulfilled. For very soon after our Saviour's decease appeared Simon Magus, Acts vii. 9, 10. 'and bewitched the people of Samaria, giving out that himself was some great one: to whom they all gave heed, from the least to the greatest, saying, This man is the great power of God.' He boasted himself likewise * among the Jews, as the Son of God. Of the same stamp and character was also † Dositheus the Samaritan, who pretended that he was the Christ foretold by Moses. In the reign of Claudius, about twelve years after the death of our Saviour, when Cuspius Fadus was procurator of Judæa, a certain impostor, named Theudas, persuaded a great multitude with their best effects to follow him to the river Jordan; for he said that he was a prophet, and promised to divide the river for their passage, and saying these things he deceived many, ‡ faith Josephus. But Fadus sent a troop of horse against them, who falling unexpectedly upon them, killed many, and made many prisoners; and having taken Theudas himself alive, they cut off his head, and brought it to Jerusalem. A few years afterwards in the reign of Nero, and under the procuratorship of Felix, these impostors arose so frequent, that || many of them were apprehended and killed every day. They seduced great numbers of the people still expecting the Messiah; and well therefore might our Saviour caution his disciples against them.

The

* Irenæi Lib. i. Cap. 20. p. 94. Edit. Græc. Theodoret. Hæretic. Fab. Lib. i. Cap. i. p. 192. vol. 4. Edit. Paris 1642.

† Και μετα τῆς Ἰησοῦ θνήσκει καὶ ὁ Σαμαρείτης Δοσίθεος πείσας Σαμαρείας, ὅτι αὐτὸς μὴ ὁ προφητευόμενος ὑπὸ Μωϋσεως Χριστός. καὶ ἰδοὺ τῶν τῆ αὐτοῦ διδασκαλία κινωσθησιν. Post Jesu tempora voluit et Dositheus quidam Samaritanis persuadere, se esse Christum illum, quem Moyses prædixerat, visusque est nonnullos sibi sua doctrinā conciliare. Origen contra Celsum, Lib. i. p. 372 Vide etiam Lib. 6. p. 638. vol. i. in Matt. Tract. 27. p. 85. Col. 2. Vol. 3. Edit. Benedict.

‡ καὶ ταῦτα λέγων πολλὰς πᾶσιν, et hujusmodi sermonibus plurimos decepit. Joseph. Antiq. Lib. 20. Cap. 4. Sect. 1. p. 886. Edit. Hudion.

|| τῶν μὲν ὁ φησὶ πολλὰς καθ' ἡμέραν — λαμβάνων ἀνθρώπων quodam multis, — quotidie captos, Felix sustulit. Joseph. ibid. Cap. 7. Sect. 5. p. 892.

The next signs he giveth of his coming are several terrible calamities, as wars and rumours of wars, famines, and pestilences, and earthquakes in divers places, ver. 6. and 7. 'And ye shall hear of wars and rumours of wars: see that ye be not troubled: for all these things must come to pass, but the end is not yet. For nation shall rise against nation, and kingdom against kingdom: and there shall be famines, and pestilences, and earthquakes in divers places.' Accordingly there were 'wars and rumours of wars,' as appears in all the historians of those times, and above all in Josephus. To relate the particulars would indeed be to transcribe great part of his history of the Jewish wars. There were more especially 'rumours of wars,' * when Caligula the Roman emperor ordered his statue to be set up in the temple of Jerusalem, which the Jews refused to suffer, and persisted in their refusal; and having therefore reason to apprehend a war from the Romans, were in such a consternation that they omitted even the tilling of their lands: but this storm was soon blown over, and their fears were dissipated by the timely death of the emperor.

It is said moreover, that 'nation shall rise against nation, and kingdom against kingdom.' Here, as † Grotius well observes, Christ declares that greater disturbances than those which happened under Caligula, should fall out in the latter times of Claudius, and in the reign of Nero. That of 'nation against nation' portended the dissensions, insurrections, and mutual slaughter of the Jews, and those of other nations, who dwelt in the same cities

* Joseph. Antiq. Lib. 18. Cap. 9. De Bell. Jud. Lib. 2. Cap. 10. Edit. Hudfon. Philo contra Flaccum. Tacitus Hist. Lib. 5.

† Indicat Christus majores quam sub Caio evenerant caedes imminere ultimis temporibus Claudianis, et Neronis principatu. Illud *ἔθνος κατ' ἑθνος* significat Judaeos et qui aliarum erant gentium. *ἰσίδεμ* in civitatibus morantes mutuis inter se caedibus collidendos: quod contigit Caesareae primum, deinde Scythopoli, Ptolemaide, Tyri, Gadaris, rursus Alexandriae. deinde et Damasci. Illud autem *βασίλεια κατ' ἀλλήλας* significat tetrarcharum aut provinciarum aperta inter se bella.—Huc referre debet. Julaeorum in Peraea habitantium bellum adversus Philadelphenos ob finium controversiam, Cuspio Fado procuratore; Judaeorum et Galilaeorum bellum adversus Samaritas, procuratore Cumano; postremo bellum primum a sicariis quos vocabant, deindead universa Judaeorum gente sumptum adversus Romanos et Agrippam aliosque Romanorum imperii socios, quod initium habuit Gessio Floro procuratore. Grot.

cities together : as particularly at * Cæsarea, where the Jews and Syrians contended about the right of the city, which contention at length proceeded so far, that above twenty thousand Jews were slain, and the city was cleared of the Jewish inhabitants. At this blow the † whole nation of the Jews were exasperated ; and dividing themselves into parties, they burnt and plundered the neighbouring cities and villages of the Syrians, and made an immense slaughter of the people. The Syrians in revenge destroyed not a less number of Jews, and every city, as ‡ Josephus expresseth it, was divided into two armies. At § Scythopolis the inhabitants compelled the Jews who resided among them to fight against their own countrymen, and after the victory basely setting upon them by night, murdered above thirteen thousand of them, and spoiled their goods. At ¶ Ascalon they killed two thousand and five hundred, at Ptolemais two thousand, and made not a few prisoners. The Tyrians put many to death, and imprisoned more. The people of Gadara did likewise, and all the other cities of Syria, in proportion as they hated or feared the Jews. At Alexandria ¶ the old enmity was revived between the Jews and Heathens, and many fell on both sides, but of the Jews to the number of fifty thousand. The ** people of Damascus too conspired against the Jews of the same city, and assaulting them unarmed, killed ten thousand of them. That of ' kingdom against kingdom' portended the open wars of different tetrarchies and provinces against one another : as †† that of the Jews who dwelt in Peræa against the people of Philadelphia concerning their bounds, while Cuspius Fadus was procurator ; and ‡‡ that of the Jews and Galileans against the Samaritans, for the murder of some

* Joseph. Antiq. Lib. 20. Cap. 7. Sect. 7. &c. De Bell. Jud. Lib. 2. Cap. 13. Sect. 17. Cap. 18. Sect. 1. Edit. Hudson.

† Ibid. Cap. 18. Sect. 1.

‡ Ibid. Sect. 2. και πασα πολς εις δυο διηρητο στρατιδα et unaquaque civitas in duos divisa erat exercitus p. 1095.

¶ Ibid. Sect. 3. Vita Josephi. Sect. 6.

§ De Bell. Jud. Lib. 2. Cap. 18. Sect. 5.

¶ Ibid. Sect. 7. et 8.

** Ibid. Cap. 20. Sect. 2.

†† Joseph. Antiq. Lib. 20. Cap. 1. Sect. 1.

‡‡ Ibid. Cap. 5. De Bell. Jud. Lib. 2. Cap. 12. Sect. 3. etc.

some Galileans going up to the feast at Jerusalem while Cumanus was procurator; and that of the * whole nation of the Jews against the Romans and Agrippa and other allies of the Roman empire, which began while Gessius Florus was procurator. But as † Josephus saith, there was not only sedition and civil war throughout Judea, but likewise in Italy, Otho and Vitellius contending for the empire.

It is farther added, ‘and there shall be famines, and pestilences, and earthquakes, in divers places.’ There were *famines*, as particularly that prophesied of by Agabus, and mentioned in the Acts of the Apostles, xi. 28. and by ‡ Suetonius and other profane historians referred to by Eusebius, ‘which came to pass in the days of Claudius Cæsar,’ and was so severe at Jerusalem, that, as § Josephus saith, many perished for want of victuals—And *pestilences*, for these are the usual attendants upon famines. Scarcity and badness of provisions almost always end in some epidemical distemper. We see many died by reason of the famine in the reign of Claudius and § Josephus farther informs us that when Niger was killed by the Jewish zealots, he imprecated besides other calamities famine and pestilence upon them, (λιμοντι και λοιμον the very words used by the evangelist), all which, saith he, God ratified and brought to pass against the ungodly, —‘And earthquakes in divers places,’ as particularly that § in Crete in the reign of Claudius, mentioned by Philostratus in the life of Apollonius, and those also mentioned

* Ibid. Chap. 17.

† Ου μόνον δὲ κατὰ τὴν Ἰουδαίαν γασίς ἦν καὶ πόλεμος ἐνφυλίας. ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτὴ τῆς Ἰταλίας. Verum non solum per Judæam erat seditio et bellum civile, sed etiam in Italia. De Bell. Jud. Lib. 4. Cap. 9. Sect. 9. p. 1207.

‡ Suetonius in Claudio 18. Taciti Annal. Lib. 12. Euseb. Eccles. Hist. Lib. 2. Cap. 8.

§ πολλὰν δὲ ἐν τῇσι ἀναλωμάτων θείοντων, multis alimentorum inopia pereuntibus. Joseph. Antiq. Lib. 20. Cap. 2. Sect. 6. p. 881. Ibid. Cap. 4. Sect. 2. Edit. Hudson.

§ 2. ὅτι πάντα κατὰ τοὺς κείρους ἐκέρχοντο ὁ Θεός. Quæ sane universa contra improbos rata habuit Deus. Joseph. de Bell. Jud. Lib. 4. Cap. 6. Sect. 1. p. 1186. Edit. Hudson.

¶ Gravis terræ morus qui in Creta accidit Claudio imperante meminit Philostratus in vita Apollonii. Item terræ motuum Smyrnae, Mileti, Chii, Sami paulo ante tempora excise urbis Hierosolymorum. Grot. in locum.

tioned by Philostratus at Smyrna, Miletus, Chios, Samos, all which places some Jews inhabited; and those * at Rome mentioned by Tacitus; and that † at Laodicea in the reign of Nero, mentioned by Tacitus, which city was overthrown, as were likewise Hierapolis and Colosse; and that in ‡ Campania, mentioned by Seneca; and that at § Rome in the reign of Galba mentioned by Suetonius; and that in Judea, mentioned by § Josephus. For by night there broke out a most dreadful tempest, and violent strong winds with the most vehement showers, and continual lightnings, and horrid thunderings, and prodigious bellowings of the shaken earth: and it was manifest, as he saith, that the constitution of the universe was confounded for the destruction of men; and any one might easily conjecture, that these things portended no common calamity.

To these St Luke addeth, xxi. 11. that 'there should be fearful sights and great signs from heaven.' Josephus in ¶ the preface to the history of the Jewish war, undertakes to relate the signs and prodigies, which preceded the taking of the city: and he relates accordingly, that ** a star hung over the city like a sword, and the comet continued for a whole year; that †† the people being af-

Vol. II. O fumbled

* Tacit. Annal Lib. 12. p 91. Edit. Lipsii.

† Tacit. Annal. Lib. 14 p. 113. Edit. Lipsii. Orosius, Lib. 7. Cap. 7. p. 473. Edit. Havercamp.

‡ Nat. Quæst. Lib. 6. Cap. 1. † Suet. Galb. Cap. 15.

§ Joseph. de Bell. Jud. Lib. 4. Cap. 4. Sect. 5 δια γὰρ τῆς νύκτος ἀρχαῖος ἐκκλινόμενος χροῖαν, αὐτοὶ τὶ βαθεῖα οὐ φέροιτο λαβροτάτοις, καὶ νοκχίαι ἀνίσταται, βροταὶ τὶ φρεσὶν αὐτοῦ, καὶ θυμὸς αὐτοῦ ἐν τῇ νύκτι ἐκκλινόμενος. προσηλὸν δ' ἦν, ὡς ἀνέστησαν εὐθεὶς τὸ κατὰ νύκτα τὸν ὅλον οὐρανὸν χροῖαν· καὶ οὐ μόνον τὴν αἰνέσασθαι σήμασθαι τὴν ταραχὴν. Noctis Luna gravissima erumpit tempestus ventisque violentus cum imbre vehementi conjunctus, et crebra fulgura, horrendaque tonitruo, et ingentes terrae concussus mugitus: manifestumque erat, non iam in exitum mundi statum fuisse conturbatum: eratque ut quis conjiceret ea non vulgares portendere calamitates, p. 1181. Ed. Hud.

¶ *nam ex his tunc signis non tunc quæque præcesserant signa
et prodigia, sect. II. p. 457*

* * * * * *supra civitatem sicut fons simile gladiu, et augi spatio ardere perseverabat cometes.* Lib. 6. Cap. 5. Sect. 3 p. 175

†† ἀδελφεοί μου ἐν κυρίῳ ἀπὸ τοῦ τοῦ Ἀζυμῶτος, — κατὰ νύκτα, ὡς καὶ ὁ
ἀρεν, τοσούτοι φῶς περιλαμψήσιν ὑμεῖς καὶ πνεύματι, ὡς ἵκεν ἡ ἐκείνη
λαμπρὰ καὶ ταῦτα παριστάνει ἰδ' ἡμεῖς ἀρεν. populo ad festum a m
Aryadon m

sembled to celebrate the feast of unleavened bread, at the ninth hour of the night there shone so great a light about the altar and the temple, that it seemed to be bright day, and this continued for half an hour; that * at the same feast a cow, led by the priest to sacrifice, brought forth a lamb in the middle of the temple; that † the eastern gate of the temple which was of solid brass and very heavy, and was scarcely shut in an evening by twenty men, and was fastened by strong bars and bolts, was seen at the sixth hour of the night opened of its own accord, and could hardly be shut again; that ‡ before the setting of the sun there were seen over all the country chariots and armies fighting in the clouds, and besieging cities; that || at the feast of Pentecost, as the priests were going into the inner temple by night as usual to attend their service, they heard first a motion and noise, and then a voice as of a multitude saying, Let us depart hence; and § what he reckons as the most terrible of all, that one Jesus an ordinary country fellow, four years before the war began, and when the city was in peace and plenty, came to the feast of tabernacles, and ran crying up and down the streets day and night, “A voice from the east, a voice from the west, a voice from the four wind’, a voice against Jerusalem and the temple, a voice against the bridegrooms and

Azymorum congregata,—hora noctis nona, tanta lux circa altare templumque circumfusa est, ut dies clarus esse videretur, atque, hoc horae dimidia spatium duravit. Ibid

* και ποτα τελευτην ιερην βας μιν, αχθισα υπα τα αρχιερεως περι την θυσια, στικιν κρια εν τω ιερο μινω. in eadem quoque solemnitate, vacca cum a pontifice ad sacrificium adduceretur, agnum in Medio templo enixa est Ibid

† η δε ανατολικη πυλη κ τ λ sed et janua, &c Ibid

‡ οτι ηλθε δυσις ωθη μνημεια περι πασαι την χωραν αγρας και φαλαγγας ενσπλιν διατρεσαι των νεφω, και κυκλωμεναι τας πολεις. inter solis occasum per universam regionem currus in aere sublimes ferri, et armata phalanges per nubes discurrere, urbeque circumvallare sunt visae Ibid p 125

§ κατω δε την ιερην, η Πεντ κοστη κλεισται, νυκτω οι ιερεις παρελθοντες εις το ενδον ιερου, ωστερ αυτους ιδει ην προς της λειτουργιας, πρωτον μιν κινησας ενσπλιν ενσπλιν. κατω αυτην διη qui Pentecoste appellatur, & ceteros postea templum ingressi obeunda ex more ministeria primum quidam motum ac strepitum se exaudisse dixerunt tum deinde vocem quorundam multitudinis simul clamantis, Migremus hinc. Ibid.

¶ οτι ο Ιησους ο βαλυσανος Ιουδης γαρ τις η. τ. λ. Quod vero his omni-
bus, Iesus quidam, &c. Ibid.

and the brides, a voice against all the people." The magistrates endeavoured by stripes and torture, to restrain him; but he still cried, with a mournful voice, "Woe woe to Jerusalem!" This he continued to do for seven years and five months together, and especially at the great festivals; and he neither grew hoarse nor was tired: but went about the walls, and cried with a loud voice, "Woe woe to the city, and to the people, and to the temple;" and as he added at last, "Woe woe also to myself:" it happened that a stone from some sling or engine immediately struck him dead. These were indeed 'fearful signs and great sights from heaven:' and there is not a more creditable historian than the author who relates them, and who appeals to the testimony of those who saw and heard them. But it may add some weight to his relation, that Tacitus, the Roman historian, also gives us a summary account of the same occurrences. He saith that * there happened several prodigies, armies were seen engaging in the heavens, arms were seen glittering, and the temple shone with the sudden fire of the clouds, the doors of the temple opened suddenly, and a voice greater than human was heard, that the gods were departing, and likewise a great motion of their departing. Dr Jortin's † remark is very pertinent, "If Christ had not expressly foretold this, many, who gave little heed to portents, and who know that historians have been too credulous in that point, would have suspected that Josephus exaggerated, and that Tacitus was misinformed; but as the testimonies of Josephus and Tacitus confirm the predictions of Christ, so the predictions of Christ confirm the wonders recorded "by these historians."—But even allowing all that incredulity can urge—that in the great calamities of war, and famine, and pestilence, the people always grow superstitious, and are struck with religious panics;—that they see nothing but prodigies and portents, which in happier seasons are overlooked: that some of these appear to be formed in imitation of the Greek and Roman historians, as particularly the cow's bringing forth a

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* *Evenerunt prodigia—Visæ per cælum concurrere acies, rutilantia arma, et subito nubium igne collucere templum. Expassa repente delubri fores, et audita major humana vox, Excedere deos. Simul ingens motus excedentium.* Tacit. Hist. lib. 5.

• p. 27. Edit. Lipsiæ.

† Remarks on Ecclesiastical History, Vol. I. p. 41.

lamb;—that armies fighting in the clouds, seen in calamitous times in all ages and countries, are nothing more than meteors, such as the aurora borealis;—in short, allowing that some of these prodigies were feigned, and others were exaggerated, yet the prediction of them is not the less divine on that account. Whether they were supernatural, or the fictions only of a disordered imagination, yet they were believed as realities, and had all the effects of realities, and were equally worthy to be made the objects of prophecy. 'Fearful sights and great signs from heaven' they certainly were, as much as if they had been created on purpose to astonish the earth.

But notwithstanding all these terrible calamities our Saviour exhorts his disciples not to be troubled. The Jews may be under dreadful apprehensions, as they were particularly in the case of Caligula above mentioned; but 'be not ye troubled, for all these things must come to pass, but the end is not yet,' but the destruction of Jerusalem is not yet. 'All these are only the beginning of sorrows, ver. 8. ἀρχὴ ὧν.' Great troubles and calamities are often expressed in scripture-language metaphorically by the pains of travailing women. All these are only the first pangs and throws, and are nothing to that hard labour which shall follow.

From the calamities of the nation in general, he passeth to those of the Christians in particular: and indeed the former were in great measure the occasion of the latter; famines, pestilences, earthquakes and the like calamities being reckoned judgments for the sins of the Christians, and the poor Christians being often maltreated and persecuted on that account, as we learn from some of the earliest apologists for the Christian religion. Now the calamities which were to befall the Christians were cruel persecutions ver. 9. 'Then shall they deliver you up to be afflicted, and shall kill you; and ye shall be hated of all nations,' not only of the Jews but likewise of the Gentiles; 'for my name's sake.' St Mark and St Luke are rather more particular. St Mark saith, xiii. 9, 11. 'They shall deliver you up to councils; and in the synagogues ye shall be beaten, and ye shall be brought before rulers and kings for my sake, for a testimony against them. they shall lead you, and deliver you up, take

no thought before hand what ye shall speak, neither do ye premeditate: but whatsoever shall be given you in that hour, that speak ye; for it is not ye that speak, but the Holy Ghost.* St Luke saith, xxi. 12—15. 'But before all these they shall lay their hands on you, and persecute you, delivering you up to the synagogue; and into prisons, being brought before kings and rulers for my name's sake. And it shall turn to you for a testimony. Settle it therefore in your hearts, not meditate before, what ye shall answer. For I will give you a mouth and wisdom, which all your adversaries shall not be able to gainsay nor resist.' We need look no farther than the Acts of the Apostles for the completion of these particulars. There are instances enow of the sufferings of some Christians and of the death of others. Some are 'delivered to councils,' as Peter and John, iv. 5, &c. Some are 'brought before rulers and kings,' as Paul before Gallio, xxviii. 12. Felix, xxiv. Festus and Agrippa, xxv. Some have a mouth and wisdom which all their adversaries were not able to gainsay nor resist,' as it is said of Stephen, vi. 18. that 'they were not able to resist the wisdom and the spirit by which he spake,' and Paul made even Felix to tremble, xxiv. 25. and the gospel still prevailed against all opposition and persecution whatever. Some are *imprisoned*, as Peter and John, iv. 3. Some are *beaten*, as Paul and Silas, xvi. 23. Some are 'put to death,' as Stephen, vii. 59. and James the brother of John, xii. 2. But if we would look farther, we have a more melancholy proof of the truth of this prediction, in the persecutions under Nero, in which (besides numberless other Christians) fell those * two great champions of our faith, St Peter and St Paul. And it was *nominis prelium*, as † Tertullian calleth it; it was a war against the very name. Though a man was possessed of every human virtue, yet it was crime enough if he was a *Christian*; so true were our Saviour's words, that they should be hated of all nations 'for his name's sake.'

But they were not only to be hated of all nations, but were also to be betrayed by apostates and traitors of their own brethren, ver. 10. 'And then shall many be offended,

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* Euseb. Eccles. Hist. Lib. 2. Cap. 25.

† Tertul. Apol. Cap. 2. p. 4. Edit. Rigaltii. Paris. 1673.

and shall betray one another, and shall hate one another.' By reason of persecution 'many shall be offended,' and apostatize from the faith; as particularly those mentioned by St Paul in his second Epistle to Timothy, i. 15. 'Phygelles and Hermogenes, who with many others in Asia turned away from him,' and, vi. 10. 'Demas who forsook him, having loved this present world.' But they shall not only apostatize from the faith, but also 'shall betray one another, and shall hate one another.' To illustrate this point we need only cite a sentence out of Tacitus speaking of the persecution under Nero. At first, says * he, several were seized who confessed, and then by their discovery a great multitude of others were convicted and barbarously executed.

False teachers too, and false prophets were to infest the church, ver. 11. 'And many false prophets shall rise, and shall deceive many.' Such particularly was Simon Magus, and his followers the Gnostics were very numerous. Such also were the Judaizing teachers, 'false apostles,' as they are called by St Paul, 2 Cor. xi. 13. 'deceitful workers, transforming themselves into the apostles of Christ.' Such also were 'Hymeneus and Philetus,' of whom the apostle complains, 2 Tim. ii. 17, 18. that they affirmed 'the resurrection to be past already, and overthrew the faith of some.'

The genuine fruit and effect of those evils was lukewarmness and coolness among Christians, ver. 12. 'And because iniquity shall abound, the love of many shall wax cold.' By reason of these trials and persecutions from without, and these apostacies and false prophets from within, the love of many to Christ and his doctrine, and also their love to one another, shall wax cold. Some shall openly desert the faith, (as ver. 10.) others shall corrupt it, (as ver. 11.) and others again (as here) shall grow indifferent to it. And (not to mention other instances) who can hear St Paul complaining at Rome, 2 Tim. iv. 16. that 'at his first answer no man stood with him, but all men forsook him;' who can hear the divine author of the Epistle to the Hebrews exhorting them, x. 25. 'not to forsake

* *Primo correpti qui fatebantur, deinde indicio eorum multitudine inpenitus convicti sunt. Et percuntibus addita ludibria, &c. Tacit. Annal. Lib. 15 p. 128 Edit. Lipsiæ.*

forsake the assembling of themselves together, as the manner of some is ; and not conclude the event to have sufficiently justified our Saviour's prediction?

' But he that shall endure unto the end,' ver. 13. but he who shall not be terrified by these trials and persecutions ; he who shall neither apostatize from the faith himself, nor be seduced by others ; he who shall not be ashamed to profess his faith in Christ, and his love to the brethren ; ' the same shall be saved.'—saved both here and hereafter. ' There shall not an hair of your head perish,' as it is in St Luke: xxi. 18. and indeed it is very remarkable and was certainly a most signal act of providence, that none of the Christians perished in the destruction of Jerusalem. So true and prophetic also was that assertion of St Peter upon this same occasion, 2 Pet. ii. 9. ' The Lord knoweth how to deliver the godly out of temptations.'

But notwithstanding the persecutions and calamities of the Christians, there was to be an universal publication of the Gospel before the destruction of Jerusalem, ver. 14. ' And this gospel of the kingdom' (this gospel of the kingdom of God) ' shall be preached in all the world, for a witness unto all nations, and then shall the end come ; and then shall the destruction of Jerusalem and the end of the Jewish polity come to pass ; when all nations shall be or may be convinced of the crying sin of the Jews in crucifying the Lord of glory, and of the justice of God's judgments upon them for it. The Acts of the Apostles contain only a small part of the history of a small part of the Apostles ; and yet even in that history we see, the gospel was widely disseminated, and had taken root in the most considerable parts of the Roman empire. As early as in the reign of Nero, * the Christians were grown so numerous at Rome, as to raise the jealousy of the government, and the first general persecution was commenced against them under pretence of their having set fire to the city, of which the emperor himself was really guilty, but willing to transfer the blame and odium upon the poor innocent Christians. Clement, who was a contemporary and fellow

* Tacit. Annal. Lib. 15.

low-labourer with St Paul, * says of him in particular, that he was a preacher both in the east and in the west, that he taught the whole world righteousness, and travelled as far as to the utmost borders of the west : and if such were the labours of one apostle, though the chiefest of the apostles, what were the united labours of them all? It appears indeed from the writers of the history of the church, that before the destruction of Jerusalem the gospel was not only preached in the lesser Asia; and Greece, and Italy, the great theatres of action then in the world ; but was likewise propagated as far northward as Scythia, as far southward as Ethiopia, as far eastward as Parthia and India, as far westward as Spain and Britain. Our ancestors of this island seem to have lain as remote from the scene of our Saviour's actions as almost any nation, and were a † rough inhospitable people, as unlikely to receive so civilized an institution as any people whatever. But yet there is ‡ some probability, that the gospel was preached here by St Simon the apostle ; there is much greater probability, that it was preached here by St Paul : and there is absolute certainty, that Christianity was planted in this country in the days of the apostles, before the destruction of Jerusalem. Agreeably to this || Eusebius informs us, that the apostles preached the gospel in all the world ; and some of them passed beyond the ocean to the Britannic isles. Theodoret likewise § affirms, that the apostles had induced every nation and kind of men to embrace the gospel, and among the converted nations he reckons particularly the Britons. St Paul himself in his Epistle to the Colossians, i. 6. 23. speaketh of the gospel's being

* *κηρύξ γενόμενος εν τῇ ἀνατολῇ καὶ εν τῇ δύσει, — διηκισσάμενος διδάσκειν ἅλους τοὺς ἀσέβητους, καὶ ἐν τῷ στενίον τῆς οὐραίας ἡλίου.* Praeco factus in oriente ac occidente. — *totum mundum docent justitiam, et ad occidentis terminum veniens* Clem. Epist. ad Corinth. I. Chap. 5.

† *Britannos hospitibus feros,* Hor. Od. III. IV. 33.

‡ See Stillingfleet's *Origines Britannicae* Cap. 2. Collier's *Eccles. Hist.* Book i. Usserii. *Britann. Eccl. Antiquitates.* Cap. 1, &c.

|| *ὅτι οὗτοι ὡκεανὸν παρέρχοντο ἐν τῇ κατὰ μέγαντες ἡρεσίνικας νηυσί. — ἵνα τὸν ὡκεανὸν ἐνέπλησσαν, ad eas insulas quae Britannicae vocantur.* Demons. Evangel. Lib. 3. Cap. 5. p. 112. Edit. Paris, 1628.

§ *Theod. Serm. 9. Tom. 4 p. 610 Edit. Paris 1642. Καὶ ὁ μόνος Ῥωμαῖος — ἀλλὰ καὶ — Βρεταννὸς — καὶ ἀπ᾽ ἅπλων παρ᾽ ἑαυτοὺς καὶ γένος ἀνθρώπων — κ. τ. λ. neque solum Romanos — sed et — Britannos — atque ut semel dicam omne hominum genus nationesque omnes* etc.

being 'come into all the world, and preached to every creature under heaven:' and in his Epistle to the Romans, x. 18. very elegantly applies to the lights of the church what the Psalmist said of the lights of heaven, 'their sound went into all the earth, and their words unto the ends of the world.' But how improbable, and in all human appearance impossible was it, that a few poor fishermen and such inferior illiterate persons should propagate and establish a new religion, in so short a space of time, throughout the world? Doubtless it was not man's but God's work, and from the same divine spirit proceeded both the prophecy and the completion!

We have deduced the prophecies as low as to the siege of Jerusalem; and now let us stop to make a few short reflections upon what hath been said.

The first reflection that naturally occurs, is the strange and surprising manner in which these prophecies have been fulfilled, and the great argument that may thence be drawn from the truth of our Saviour's divine mission: but we shall have sifter opportunity for enlarging upon this hereafter.

Another reflection we may make on the sincerity and ingenuity of Christ, and the courage and constancy of his disciples. Had Jesus been an impostor, he would, like all other impostors, have sed his followers with fair hopes and promises: but on the contrary we see, that he denounced persecution to be the lot of his disciples, he pointeth out to them the difficulties they must encounter, the fiery trials they must undergo; and yet they did not therefore stagger in their faith, they did not therefore, like faint-hearted soldiers, forsake there colours and desert his service. One hardly knoweth whom to admire most, him for dealing so plainly with them, or them for adhering so steadily to him. Such instances are rarely found of openness on one side, and of fidelity on the other.

A third reflection we may make on the sudden and amazing progress of the gospel, that it should spread so far and so wide before the destruction of Jerusalem. The greatness of the work that was wrought, the meanness of the instruments which wrought it, and the short time that it was wrought in, must force all considering men to say, Psal. cxviii. 23. 'This is the Lord's doing; it is marvellous

marvellous in our eyes.' The Mohammedan religion indeed in less than a century over-ran a great part of the world; but then it was propagated by the sword, and owed its success to arms and violence. But the Christian religion was diffused over the face of the earth in the space of forty years, and prevailed not only without the sword but against the sword, not only without the powers civil and military to support it, but against them all united to oppress it. And what but the Spirit of God could bid it thus go forth, Rev. 6. 2. 'conquering and to conquer?' Had this counsel or this work been of men,' as Gamaliel argued, Acts v. 28. 'it would have come to nought; but being of God, nothing could overthrow it.'

A fourth reflection we may make (and it is the last that I shall make) that seldom any state is ruined, but there are evident signals and presages of it. Few people have their fate particularly foretold by prophets like the Jews; nor indeed can the fate of any people be so particularly foretold, the time, the manner, and all the circumstances preceding and succeeding, without divine inspiration. So many passages and circumstances cannot be particularly foretold unless particularly revealed; but in the general, without the spirit of prophecy, it is no difficult matter to perceive when cities and kingdoms are tending towards their final period and dissolution. There are as certain tokens and symptoms of a consumption and decay in the body politic, as in the body natural. I would not preface ill to my country; but when we consider the many heinous and presumptuous sins of this nation, the licentiousness and violation of all order and discipline, the daring insolence of robbers and smugglers in open defiance of all law and justice, the factions and divisions, the venality and corruption, the avarice and profusion of all ranks and degrees among us, the total want of public spirit, and ardent passion for private ends and interests, the luxury and gaming and dissoluteness in high life, and the laziness and drunkenness and debauchery in low life, and above all that bare-faced ridicule of all virtue and decency, and that scandalous neglect, and I wish I could not say contempt of all public worship and religion; when we consider these things, these signs of the times, the stoutest and most sanguine of us all must tremble, at the

the natural and probable consequences of them. God give us grace, that we may know, Luke xix. 42. 'at least in this our day, the things which belong unto our peace, before they are hid from our eyes.' Never may such blindness happen to us, as befel the Jews; but may we, Isa. lv. 6, 7. 'seek the Lord while he may be found, and call upon him while he is near; and return unto the Lord, and he will have mercy upon us, and to our God, for he will abundantly pardon.'

XIX.

THE SAME SUBJECT CONTINUED.

PART II.

THE preceding discourse was concerning the *signs* of the destruction of Jerusalem, that is the circumstances and accidents, which were to be the fore-runners and attendants of this great event. Those are already specified which passed before the siege, and now we proceed to treat of those which happened during the siege and after it. Never was prophecy more punctually fulfilled, and it will be very well worth our time and attention to trace the particulars.

'When ye therefore shall see the abomination of desolation, spoken of by Daniel the prophet, stand in the holy place, (whoso readeth let him understand): Then let them which be in Judea, flee into the mountains,' ver. 15. and 16. Whatever difficulty there is in these words, it may be cleared up by the parallel place in St Luke, xxi. 20, 21. 'And when ye shall see Jerusalem compassed with armies, then know that the desolation thereof is nigh. Then let them which are in Judea flee to the mountains.' So that 'the abomination of desolation' is the Roman army, and 'the abomination of desolation standing in the holy place' is the Roman army besieging Jerusalem. This, saith our Saviour, is 'the abomination of desolation, spoken of by Daniel the prophet,' in the ninth and eleventh chapters; and so let every one who readeth those prophecies, understand them. The Roman army is called the abomination.

nation^s for its ensigns and images which were so to the Jews. As Chryostom affirms * every idol and every image of a man was called 'an abomination' among the Jews. For this reason, as † Josephus informs us, the principal Jews earnestly intreated Vitellius, governor of Syria, when he was conducting his army through Judea against Aretas king of the Arabians, to lead it another way: and he greatly obliged them by complying with their request. We farther learn from ‡ Josephus, that after the city was taken the Romans brought their ensigns into the temple, and plac'd them over against the eastern gate, and sacrific'd to them there. The Roman army is therefore fitly called 'the abomination,' and 'the abomination of desolation,' as it was to desolate and lay waste Jerusalem: and this army's besieging Jerusalem is called 'standing where it ought not,' as it is in St Mark; xiii. 14. or 'standing in the holy place,' as it is in St Matthew; the city and such a compass of ground about it being account'd holy. When therefore the Roman army shall advance to besiege Jerusalem, then let them who are in Judea consult their own safety, and fly into the mountains. This counsel was wisely remembered, and put in practice by the Christians afterwards. Josephus informs us, that when Cestius Gallus came with his army against Jerusalem, || many fled from the city as if it would be taken presently: and after his retreat, § many of the noble Jews departed out of the city, as out of a sinking ship: and a few years afterwards, when Vespasian was drawing his forces towards Jerusalem, ¶ a great multitude fled from Jericho *ὡς τὴν ἀρμυρὰν* 'into the mountainous

* *ἅπαν οἰδωλον, καὶ πᾶσι τύπτειν ἡδυνάτω παρὰ τοῦ Ἰουδαίου βδελύγμα καλεῖται.* omne simulacrum et hominis effigies apud Judæos appellabatur abominatio. Advers. Jud. V. Orat. p. 645. vol. 1. Ed. Bened.

† Joseph. Antiq. Lib. 18 Cap. 6. Sect. 3. Edit. Hudson.

‡ *ἰερουσαλὴμ τοῦς ἑβραίοις οὐκ ἔστι ἱερός, καὶ δεικνύει τῆς ἀνατάξεως πολλὰς ἀντιφάσεις, ἀποδεικνύει ὅτι ἁπλῶς ἀνόμιον.* signis in templum illatis positiq; contra portam orientalem, et illis ibi sacrificarunt. Joseph. de Bell. Jud. Lib. 6. Cap. 6. Sect. 1. p. 1281. Edit. Hudson.

§ *Ἰουδαῖοι πολλοὶ ἐξέστησαν ἀπὸ τῆς πόλεως, ὡς ἀποσκευασμένη ἀπὸ ναυῶν,* jamque multi ex civitate discesserunt, ac sic continuo effect expugnanda. Joseph. de Bell. Jud. Lib. 4. Cap. 19 Sect. 6. p. 1103.

¶ *Ἐκ τῆς πόλεως Ἰερουσαλὴμ πολλοὶ ἑβραῖοι ἐξέστησαν, ὡς ἀπὸ πλοῦς ἐκ τῆς πόλεως.* populum Judæorum multi quasi in eo esset navis ut mercede civitate veluti statando egressi sunt. ib. C. 20. S. 1. p. 1103. vol. 1. 4. Cap. 3. Sect. 1. p. 1193. Edit. Hudson.

tainous country' for their security. It is probable that there were some Christians among these, but we learn more certainly from * ecclesiastical historians, that at this juncture all who believed in Christ left Jerusalem, and removed to Pella and other places beyond the river Jordan, so that they all marvellously escaped the general shipwreck of their country, and we do not read any where that so much as one of them perished in the destruction of Jerusalem. Of such signal service was this caution of our Saviour to the believers!

He prosecutes the same subject in the following verses. 'Let him which is on the house-top, not come down to take any thing out of his house,' ver. 17. The † houses of the Jews, as well as those of the ancient Greeks and Romans, were flat on the top for them to walk upon, and had usually stairs on the outside, by which they might ascend and descend without coming into the house. In the eastern walled cities these flat roofed houses usually formed continued terraces from one end of the city to the other, which terraces terminated at the gates. He therefore who is walking and regaling himself upon the house-top, let him not come down to take any thing out of his house; but let him instantly pursue his course along the tops of the houses, and escape out at the city-gate as fast as he possibly can. 'Neither let him which is in the field, return back to take his clothes,' ver. 18. Our Saviour maketh use of these expressions, to intimate, that their flight must be as sudden and hasty as Lot's was out of Sodom. And the Christians escaping just as they did was the more providential, because afterwards ‡ all egress out of the city was prevented.

'And woe unto them that are with child, and unto them that give suck in those days,' ver. 19. For neither will such persons be in a condition to fly, neither will they be well able to endure the distress and hardships of a siege. This woe was sufficiently fulfilled in the cruel slaughters which were made both of the women and children, and par-

Vol. II.

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ticularly

* Euseb. Eccles. Hist. Lib. 3. Cap. 5. cum notis Valesii. Epiphanius, adversus Nazarcos. Lib. 1. Tom. 2. Sect. 7. Vol. 1. Edit. Petavii. Idem de Mens. et Pond. Sect. 15. Vol. 2.

† See Grotius on the place, and the miracles of Jesus vindicated by Bishop Pearce, Part IV. p. 27, 28.

‡ Joseph. de Bell. Jud. Lib. 4. Cap. 9. Sect. 1. et 10. Edit. Hud.

ticularly in that grievous famine, which so miserably afflicted Jerusalem during the siege. For as Josephus reports, * mothers snatched the food from their infants out of their very mouths : and again in another place, † the houses were full of women and children, who perished by famine. But Josephus still relates a more horrid story ; and I make no question, that our Saviour with his spirit of prophecy had this particular incident in view. There ‡ was one Mary, the daughter of Eleazer, illustrious for her family and riches. She having been stript and plundered of all her substance and provisions by the soldiers, out of necessity and fury killed her own sucking child, and having boiled him devoured half of him, and covering up the rest preserved it for another time. The soldiers soon came allured by the smell of victuals, and threatened to kill her immediately, if she should not produce what she had dressed. But she replied that she had reserved a good part for them, and uncovered the relics of her son. Dread and astonishment seized them, and they stood stupified at the sight. “ But this, said she, is my own son, and this my work. Eat, for even I have eaten. Be not you more tender than a woman, nor more compassionate than a mother. But if you have a religious abhorrence of my victim, I truly have eaten half, and let the rest remain for me.” They went away trembling, fearful to do this one thing ; and hardly left this food for the mother. The whole city was struck with horror, says the historian at this wickedness ; and they were pronounced blessed, who died before they had heard or seen such great evils. So true also was what our Saviour declared on another occasion, when the women were bewailing and lamenting him, as he was led to execution : Luke xxiii. 28—30. ‘ Daughters of Jerusalem, weep not for me, but weep for yourselves, and for your children. For behold, the days are coming, in the

* *μητρες νηπιων εξεραζον εκ αυτων των τοματων της τροφης.* *matres infantibus cibum ex ipso ore rapiebant.* Ibid. Lib. 5. Cap. 10. Sect. 3. p. 1245.

† *και τα παντα ολησιν περιληφμενη γυναικων και βρεφων λιλυμινων.* *ac tecta quidem plena erant mulieribus et infantibus fame cruciatis.* Ibid.

the which they shall say, Blessed are the barren, and the wombs that never bare, and the paps which never gave suck. Then shall they begin to say to the mountains, Fall on us; and to the hills, Cover us.' Proverbial expressions to signify their desire of any shelter or refuge: and so very desirous were they of hiding themselves, that * some thousands of them crept even into the common-sewers, and there miserably perished, or were dragged out to slaughter.

' But pray ye that your flight be not in the winter, neither on the Sabbath day,' ver. 20. Pray that these evils be not farther aggravated by the concurrence of other natural and moral evils, such as the inclemencies of the seasons and your own superstitions. ' Pray that your flight be not in the winter;' for the hardness of the season, the badness of the roads, the shortness of the days, will all be great impediments to your flight: neither on the Sabbath day; that you may not raise the indignation of the Jews by travelling on that day, nor be hindered from doing it by your own superstition. It seemeth to be spoken a good deal in condescension to the Jewish prejudices, a Sabbath day's journey among the Jews being about a mile. In the parallel place of St Mark, xiii. 18. it is observable, that the evangelist saith only, ' And pray ye that your flight be not in the winter,' without any mention of the Sabbath day.

As our Saviour cautioned his disciples to fly, when they should see Jerusalem encompassed with armies; so it was very providentially ordered, that Jerusalem should be encompassed with armies, and yet that they should have such favourable opportunities of making their escape. In the twelfth year of Nero, Cestius Gallus, the president of Syria, came against Jerusalem with a powerful army. He might as Josephus † affirms, if he would have assaulted the city, have presently taken it, and thereby have put an end to the war. But without any just reason, and

P 2

contrary

* Ib. 4. Lib. 6. Cap. 9. Sect. 4.

† Joseph. de Bell. Jud. Lib. 2. Cap. 19. *και οππε ηβλησει κατ' αυτην εκεινην την ωραν εντος των τοιχων βιασθησει, παρ' αυτικα την πολιν εσχι, και τον πολιν συνεη καταλιυσθαι. Et si eadem ita hora voluisset vi muros perrumpere, et vestigio urbem cepisset, bellumque ab ipso confectum fuisse contigisset. Sect. 4. p. 1102. Edit. Hudson.*

contrary to the expectation of all, he raised the siege, and departed. Vespasian was deputed in his room to govern Syria, and to carry on the war against the Jews. This great general, * having subdued all the country, prepared to besiege Jerusalem, and invested the city on every side. But the news of Nero's death, and soon afterwards of Galba's, and the disturbances which thereupon ensued in the Roman empire, and the civil wars between Otho and Vitellius, held Vespasian and Titus in suspense; and they thought it unreasonable to engage in a foreign war, while they were anxious for the safety of their own country. By these means the expedition against Jerusalem was deferred for some time; and the city was not actually besieged in form, till after Vespasian was confirmed in the empire, and Titus was sent to command the forces in Judea. These incidental delays were very opportune for the Christians, and for those who had any thoughts of retreating and providing for their own safety. Afterwards there was hardly any possibility of escaping; for as our Saviour said in St Luke's Gospel, xix, 43. 'The days shall come upon thee, that thine enemies shall cast a trench about thee, and compass thee round, and keep thee in on every side,' Accordingly the Romans having begirt Jerusalem with their forces, and having made several assaults without the desired success, † Titus resolved to surround the city with a wall; and by the diligence and emulation of the soldiers, animated by the presence, and acting under the continual inspection of the general, this work, which was worthy of months, was with incredible speed completed in three days. The wall was of the dimensions of thirty-nine furlongs, and was strengthened with thirteen forts at proper distances: so that, as the ‡ historian saith, all hope of safety was cut off from the Jews, together with all the means of escaping out of the city. No provisions could be carried in, and no person could come out unknown to the enemy. But to return to St Matthew.

In

* Joseph. *ibid.* Lib. 4. Cap. 9. Sect. 1, 2, &c.

† Joseph. *ibid.* Lib. 5. Cap. 12. Sect. 1. et 2.

‡ *Iohannis de mari tui israhel antiquorum statum fortissimis illis. Judæis autem cum egrediendi facultate ipse quoque omnis latuit præcisa* *c. 12. Sect. 3. p. 1232. Edit. Hudson.*

In the preceding verses our Saviour had warned his disciples to fly, as soon as ever they saw Jerusalem besieged by the Romans; and now he assigns the reason of his giving them this caution, ver. 21. 'For then shall be great tribulation, such as was not from the beginning of the world to this time, no nor ever shall be.' St Mark expresseth it much in the same manner, xiii. 19. 'For in those days shall be affliction, such as was not from the beginning of the creation which God created, unto this time, neither shall be.' This seemeth to be a proverbial form of expression, as in Exodus, x. 14. 'And the locusts were very grievous, before them were no such locusts as they, neither after them shall be such:' and again in Joel, ii. 2. 'A great people and a strong, there hath not been ever the like, neither shall be any more after it, even to the years of many generations.' Of the same kind is that in Daniel, xii. 1. 'There shall be a time of trouble, such as never was since there was a nation, even to that same time:' and that in the first book of Maccabees, ix. 27. *There was great affliction in Israel, the like whereof was not since the time that a prophet was not seen amongst them.* Our Saviour therefore might fitly apply the same manner of speaking upon the present occasion: but he doth not make use of proverbial expressions without a proper meaning, and this may be understood even literally. For indeed all history cannot furnish us with a parallel to the calamities and miseries of the Jews; rapine and murder, famine and pestilence within; fire and sword, and all the terrors of war without. Our Saviour wept at the foresight of these calamities, and it is almost impossible for persons of any humanity to read the relation of them in Josephus without weeping too. That historian might therefore well say, as he doth in * the preface to his history, "Our city of all those which have been subjected to the Romans, was advanced to the

P 3

highest

* πολιν γαρ δι των ὑπο Ῥωμαίους πασων την ἡμετέραν ἐπι πλεον τι ευ-
 δαιμονίαις συνίεν προσελθεν, και προς ισχυατον συμφορας αυθις κατακτισιν, τα
 γεν παντων απ' αιωνος απυχηματα, προς τα Ιουδαιων ἡττασθαι μοι δοκει
 κατα σύγκρισιν, nam ex omnibus civitatibus, quae Romanorum ju-
 gum subierunt, nostrae sane contigit ad summum felicitatis per-
 venisse, ac deinde in extremam calamitatem incidisse, namque om-
 nium ab omnis aevi memoria res adversae, si cum iis conferantur
 quae Judaeis acciderunt, longe ab illis superari mihi videntur.
 Josephi Proem. Sc. 4. p. 9. 5.

highest felicity, and was thrust down again to the extremest misery: for if the misfortunes of all from the beginning of the world were compared with those of the Jews, they would appear much inferior upon the comparison:” and again in another * place he saith, “ To speak in brief, no other city ever suffered such things, as no generation from the beginning of the world was ever more fruitful of wickedness.” St Luke expresseth the reason thus, xxi. 22. ‘ For these be the days of vengeance that all things which are written may be fulfilled. These be the days of vengeance’ wherein the calamities foretold by Moses, Joel, Daniel, and other prophets, as well as those predicted by our Saviour, shall all meet as in one common centre, and be fulfilled with aggravation on this generation. ‘ These be the days of vengeance’ too in another sense, as if God’s vengeance had certain periods and revolutions, and the same days were fatal to the Jews, and destined to their destruction. For it is very memorable, and matter of just admiration according to † Josephus, that the temple was burnt by the Romans in the same month, and on the same day of the month, as it was before by the Babylonians.

Nothing so violent can be of long continuance. These calamities were so severe, that like fire, they must in time have consumed all, and have left nothing for themselves to prey upon. ‘ And except those days should be shortened, there* should no flesh be saved,’ ver. 22. If these wars and desolations were to continue, none of the Jews would escape destruction, they would all be cut off root and branch. I think ‡ Josephus computes the number of those who perished in the siege at eleven hundred thousand, besides those who were slain in other places: and if the Romans had gone on destroying in this manner: the

* συνελοντα δ' ειπεν, μητι πολη αλλην τοιαυτα πιπειναι. μητι γιναισθαι αιωτος γεγονιναι κακίας γονιμωτεραν. illud autem breviter dici potest, neque aliam urbem talia perpessam esse, neque hominum genus aliud ab omni aeco sceleratius extitisse. Lib. 5. Cap. 10. Sect. 5. p. 1246.

† Lib. 6. Cap. 4. Sect. 5. Διαμασαι δ' αν τις εν αυτη της περιου της ακριβειας. και μηνια γιν, ως εφην και ημειραν ενιστηναι την αυτην, εν η παρο-
ντων υπο βαβυλωνων η νας ενηρησθη. est autem ut mirari quis possit in eo accuratam circumacti temporis rationem. nam eundem, ut dictum est, mensem et diem servavit, quo prius templum a Baby-
loniis destructum fuerat. Sect. 8. 1249. Edit. Hudson.

‡ Lib. 6. Cap. 9. Sect. 3.

the whole nation of the Jews would certainly in a little time have been extirpated. 'But for the elect's sake,' but for the sake of the Christian Jews, 'those days shall be shortened. But for the elect's sake, whom he hath chosen, the Lord hath shortened the days,' as it is expressed in St Mark, xiii. 20. 'The elect' is a well known appellation in scripture and antiquity for the Christians; and the Christian Jews, partly through the fury of the Zealots on one hand, and the hatred of the Romans on the other, and partly through the difficulty of subsisting in the mountains without houses or provisions, would in all probability have been almost all destroyed either by the sword or by famine, if the days had not been shortened. But providentially the days were shortened. Titus himself * was desirous of putting a speedy end to the siege, having Rome and the riches and the pleasures there before his eyes. Some of his officers † proposed to him to turn the siege into a blockade, and since they could not take the city by storm, to starve it into a surrender: but he thought it not becoming to sit still with so great an army; and he feared lest the length of the time should diminish the glory of his success; every thing indeed may be effected in time, but celerity contributes much to the fame and splendour of actions. The besieged too helped to shorten the days by ‡ their divisions and mutual slaughters; by § burning their provisions, which would have sufficed for many years; and by ¶ fatally deserting their strongest holds, where they could never have been taken

* *Ipsi Tito Roma, et opes, voluptatesque ante oculos; ac ni statim Hierosolyma considerent, morari videbantur.* Tacit. Hist. Lib. 5. p. 217. Edit. Lipsii.

† *Joseph. de Bell. Jud. Lib. 5. Cap. 12. Sect. 1. αὐτὴ δὲ το μὲν κερ-
γον καθελε μετα ταραχῆς δυνημαὶ κα ἰδοκε περιεπιαν.* *Ipsi autem Tito cessare quidem prorsus tanto cum exercitu honestum non videbatur dādinai si μη την δόξαν τῆ κατορθώματος αὐτῆ το μικροῖς ἐλαττωσῇ τῷ χρόνῳ. τὴν μιν γὰρ εἶναι παν ανυσιμον, πρὸς δὲ τῆς ευκλείας το ταχὺς.* *metuendumque ne successus gloriam ipsi diminuat temporis longitudo, hac enim cuncta quidem effici posse, sed ad gloriam facere celeritatem,* p. 1251. Edit. Hudson.

‡ *Ibid. Cap. 1. &c.*

§ *Sect. 4. ἂν αὐτοῖς κα ἐπὶ ὀλίγα διηκῶσιν ἰσῆ πολιορκημένοις.* *quod non paucis annis illis sufficere potuisset oblecti,* p. 123.

¶ *Lib. 6. Cap. 8. Sect. 4. ἰφ' ὧν βίᾳ μὲν ὑδραποτ' ἀλάναι, μοτῇ δ' ἐλυν-
σαντο λιμῶν.* *in quibus vi quidem nunquam, sola vero fame expugnari poterant,* p. 1289.

taken by force but by famine alone. By these means 'the days were shortened;' and indeed otherwise Jerusalem could never have been taken in so short a time, so well fortified as it was, and so well fitted to sustain a longer siege. The enemy without could hardly ever have prevailed but for the factions and seditions within. Titus himself could not but ascribe his success to God; as he was viewing the fortifications, after the city was taken. His words to his friends were very remarkable. "We have fought, * said he, with God on our side; and it is God who hath pulled the Jews out of these strong holds; for what could the hands of men or machines do against these towers?" God therefore in the opinion of Titus as well as of St Mark, 'shortened the days.' After the destruction of Jerusalem too. God inclined the heart of Titus to take some pity upon the remnant of the Jews, and to restrain the nations from exercising the cruelty that they would have exercised towards them. At Antioch particularly (where the disciples were first called Christians) † the senate and the people earnestly importuned him to expel the Jews out of the city; but he prudently answered, that their country whether they should return being laid waste there was no place that could receive them. Then they requested him to deprive the Jews of their former privileges, but those he permitted them to enjoy as before. Thus 'for the elect's sake those days' of persecution 'were shortened.'

Our blessed Lord had cautioned his disciples against false Christs and false prophets before, but he giveth a more particular caution against them about the time of the siege and destruction of Jerusalem, ver. 23, and 24. 'Then if any man shall say unto you, Lo here is Christ, or there, believe it not; For there shall arise false Christs and false prophets, and shall shew great signs and wonders, insomuch that (if it were possible) they shall deceive the very elect.' And in fact many such impostors did arise

* Ibid. Cap. 9. Sect. 1. *σὺν Θεῷ γ' ἐπολιμησάμεν, ἔφη, καὶ Θεὸς ἡν δ' αὐτοῖς τῶν ἐργμάτων Ἰουδαίους καθίλων. ἵπαι χεῖρες τε ἀνθρώπων ἢ μηχαναὶ τι πρὸς τοῦτο τῆς πυργῆς δύναται;* Deo, inquit, favente bellavimus, Deus est, qui judæos ex istis munimentis detraxit; nam humanæ manu et machinæ quid contra tales turres valcant? p. 1290.

† Joseph. *ibid.* lib. 7. Cap. 5. Sect. 2.

rise about that time, as we learn from * Josephus, and promised deliverance from God, being suborned by the tyrants or governors to prevent the people and soldiers from deserting to the Romans; and the lower the Jews were reduced, the more disposed would they be to listen to these deceptions, and the more ready to follow the deceivers. Hegesippus too in † Eusebius mentions the coming of false Christs and false prophets about the same time. But as it was to little purpose for a man to take upon him the character of the Christ, or even of a prophet, without miracles to vouch his divine mission; so it was the common artifice and pretence of these impostors to shew ‘signs and wonders,’ *σημεία και τεράτα*, the very words used by Christ in his prophecy, and by ‡ Josephus in his history. Simon Magus performed great wonders according to the account that is given of him in the Acts, of the Apostles, viii. 9, 10, 11. ‘There was a certain man called Simon, which before time in the city used sorcery, and bewitched the people of Samaria, giving out that himself was some great one: To whom they all gave heed from the least to the greatest, saying, This man is the great power of God: And to him they had regard, because that of long time he had bewitched them with sorceries.’ Dositheus likewise was reputed to work wonders according to || Origen: Barchochebas too, who § Jerome saith pretended to vomit flames. Such also were the Jews of whom St Paul speaketh, 2 Tim. iii. 8, 13. comparing them to Jannes and Jambres,’ famous magicians of Egypt, who ‘withstood Moses, as these also resisted the truth, men of corrupt minds, reprobate concerning the faith,’ *πονηροὶ ἄνθρωποι καὶ γοηταί*, ‘wicked men and impostors.’

* πολλοὶ δ' ἦσαν ὑπακούοντες τοῖς τυραννοῦσι τότε πρὸς τὸν δῆμον προφηταί. προσμένοντες τῇ αἰσῇ τοῦ Θεοῦ βοηθεῖν καταγγέλλοντες, ὡς ἦσαν αυτομολοεῖν, καὶ τὴν ἰσχυρὰν δύναμιν καὶ φυλάκην γινόμενης ἐλπίς παρακράτην· πισθεύοντες δὲ ταχέως αὐτῶν ἐν συμφέροις. Multi autem tunc a tyrannis subornati erant ad populum prophetæ denunciantes esse auxilium a deo expectandum, ut populus minus transfugeret, et eos, qui supra metum erant et custodes, spes retineret. Cito autem in adversis homini persuaderetur, Lib. 6. Cap. 5. Sect. 2. p. 1281. Ed. Hud.

† Euseb. Eccles. Hist. Lib. 4. Cap. 22.

‡ Joseph. Antiq. Lib. 20. Cap. 7. Sect. 6. p. 893. Edit. Hudson. Vide etiam de Bell. Jud. Lib. 7. Cap. 11. Sect. 1.

|| Contra Celsum, Lib. 6. Cap. 11. p. 638. vol. 1. Edit. Benedict.

§ Adversus Rufinum, Lib. 3. Col. 466. vol. 4. Edit. Benedict.

impostors.' There is a strange propensity in mankind to believe things marvellous and astonishing; and no wonder, that weak and wicked men, Jews and Samaritans, were deceived by such impostors; when if it had been possible they would have deceived 'the very elect,' the Christians themselves.

But *behold*, saith our Saviour, 'I have told you before,' ver. 25. Behold I have given you sufficient warning. 'Wherefore if they shall say unto you, Behold, he is in the desert, go not forth; behold, he is in secret chambers, believe it not,' ver. 26. It is surprising that our Saviour should not only foretel the appearance of these impostors, but also the manner and circumstances of their conduct. For some he mentions as appearing in 'the desert,' and some in 'the secret chambers;' and the event hath in all points answered to the prediction. Several of the false Christs and false prophets conducted their followers 'into the desert.' Josephus in his * Antiquities saith expressly, that many impostors and cheats persuaded the people to follow them 'into the desert,' where they promised to shew manifest wonders and signs done by the providence of God; and many being persuaded suffered the punishment of their folly; for Felix brought them back, and chastised them. Again in his † history of the Jewish war speaking of the same persons, he saith, that these impostors, under a pretence of divine inspiration,

* οἱ δὲ γηῆτες καὶ ἀπαταιῶνις ἀνθρώποι τον ὄχλον ἐπειθον αὐτοῖς εἰς τὴν ἐρημίαν ἵστασθαι. δείξαι γὰρ ἔφασαν ἐναργη τεράτα καὶ σημεῖα, κατὰ τὴν τῷ Θεῷ πεποιθὲν γινόμενα. Καὶ πολλοὶ πεισθέντες, τῆς ἀφροσύνης τιμωρίας ὑπέσχεον· ἀναχθίνας γὰρ αὐτοὺς Φηλιξ ἐκολάσεν. Impostores vero et fallacis pleni homines, suadebant multitudini, ut ipsos in solitudinem sequerentur. Sic enim ipsis ostensuros dicebant manifesta prodigia et signa, quae Dei Cura et providentia evinirent. Multique fidem habentes, dementiae suae poenas pertulerunt. Eos quippe retractos. Felix supplicio affecit. Ant. Lib. 20. Cap. 7. Sect 6 p. 893. Edit. Hudson.

† πλᾶντοι γὰρ ἀνθρώποι καὶ ἀπαταιῶνις, προσχηματὶ θουασμε, νοστιρισμε καὶ μεταβολᾷς πραγμάτων· οἱ δὲ πολλοὶ τοῦ πλῆθους ἀνιπείθον, καὶ προσηγόντες εἰς τὴν ἐρημίαν, ὡς ἐκεῖ τῷ Θεῷ δείξαντες αὐτοῖς σημεῖα ἐλευθερίας· οἱ τούτοις ὁ Φηλιξ, ἰδὼν γὰρ ἀποστατίας οὖναι καταβολήν, περιψάς ἰσχυρῶς καὶ πικρῶς ὁ πλῆτος, πολλοὺ πλῆθος διέφθειρε. Nam homines seductores et fallacis pleni, specie divini afflatus, novis rebus et mutationibus studentes vulgo ut insanirent persuadebant, et proliciebant insolitudinem; ac si illic Deus ostensurus esset eis signa libertatis. Contra istos (inde enim videtur oritura esse insurrectio) milites tam pedestres quam equites, misit Felix, magnumque eorum numerum interfecit. De Bell. Jud. Lib. 2. Cap. 13. Sect. 4. p. 1075.

inspiration, affected innovations and changes, persuaded the multitude to grow mad, and led them forth 'into the desert,' as if God would there shew them the signs of liberty. Against these Felix, for it seemed to be the foundation of a revolt, sent horse and foot soldiers, and slew a great number of them. The Egyptian false prophet, mentioned by * Josephus, and in the Acts of the apostles, xxi. 38. 'led out into the wilderness four thousand men that were murderers;' But Felix marching with his forces, and coming to an engagement with him, the Egyptian himself with a few others fled away, and most of those who had been with him were slain or taken prisoners. There was likewise another impostor mentioned by † Josephus, who promised salvation to the people, and a cessation of all evils, if they would follow him 'into the desert;' but Festus sent horse and foot against him, and destroyed the deceiver himself, and those who followed him. These things happened before the destruction of Jerusalem, and a little after ‡ Jonathan a weaver persuaded not a few indigent fellows to adhere to him, and led them forth 'into the desert,' promising there to shew signs and apparitions; but his followers mostly were slain, some were made prisoners, and he himself was afterwards taken, and burnt alive by order of Vespasian. As several of these impostors thus conducted their fol-
lowers

* Antiq. Lib. 20. Cap. 7. Sect. 6. De Bell. Jud. Lib. 2. Cap. 13. Sect. 1. *ὡς συμβολῆς γινομένης, τὸν μὲν Αἰγυπτίον φεύγειν μισ' ὀλίγων διαφθάρηναι δὲ καὶ ζωγρηθῆναι πλείους τὸν σὺν αὐτῷ. Facto igitur congressu, Ægyptius quidem ipse cum paucis evasit; plurimique eorum qui cum eo erant partim trucidati, partim vivi capti sunt, p. 1076.*

† *παραστὰς δὲ φησὶς δυνάμειν ἰσχυρὰν εἶναι καὶ πείθειν καὶ τὰς ἀπατηθέντας ἀποεῖναι ἀνδρῶν γόντος, σωτηρίαν αὐτοῖς παραγγέλλομεν καὶ παύσαν κακῶν, εἰ βούλησθαι ἰππεύειν μετὰ τῆς ἰσχυρίας αὐτῆς. καὶ αὐτὸν εἰ κείνους τὸν ἀπατησάντα, καὶ τοὺς ἀκολούθουσάντας διαφθεῖραν οἱ παραπλήνους. Quin et Festus quæstres pedestrique copias contra eos misit, qui decepti erant ab homine quodam præstigiatore, salutem ipsius pollicente et malorum cessationem, si se usque ad desertum sequi vellent; atque ipsum deceptorem, pariter ac eos qui illum comitati sunt, interfecerunt milites ab eo missi. Ant. Lib. 20. Cap. 7. Sect. 10. p. 895.*

‡ De Bell. Jud. Lib. 7. Cap. 11. *καὶ ὀλίγους τῶν ἀπορῶν ἀνέπεισε προσελθόντων αὐτῷ, καὶ προηγαγὼν εἰς τὸν ἔρημον, σημεῖα καὶ θαύματα δείξαι ὑποσχόμενος. Pauperum et indigentium non paucis, ut ipsi se adungerent, persuasit, et in desertum eduxit, promittens se signa ipsius et apparitiones ostensurum. Sect. 1. p. 1357.*

verb, 'whereſoever the carcaſe is, there will the eagles be gathered together;' ſo whereſoever the Jews are, there will Chriſt be taking vengeance upon them by the Romans, who are properly compared to eagles as the fierceſt birds of prey, and whoſe enſign was an eagle, to which probably our Saviour in this paſſage alluded. And as it was ſaid, ſo was it done; for the victories of the Romans were not confined to this or that place, but like a flood over-ran the whole land. Joſephus ſaith that there was no part of Judea, which did not partake of the calamities of the capital city. At Antioch, † the Jews being falſely accuſed of a deſign to burn the city, many of them were burnt in the theatre, and others were ſlain. The Romans purſued, and took, and ſlew them every where, as particularly ‡ at the ſiege of Machærus; at ¶ the wood Jarden, where the Jews were ſurrounded, and none of them eſcaped, but being not fewer than three thouſand were all ſlain; and § at Maſada, where being cloſely beſieged, and upon the point of being taken, they firſt murdered their wives and children, and then themſelves to the number of nine hundred and ſixty, to prevent their falling into the enemies hand. When ¶ Judea was totally ſubdued, the danger extended to thoſe who dwelt at a diſtance. Many ** were ſlain in Eſſet, and their temple there was ſhut up: and in †† Cyrenæ †‡ followers of Jonathan, a weaver, and author of new diſturbances, were moſt of them ſlain: he himſelf was taken priſoner, and by his falſe accuſation three thouſand of the richeſt Jews were condemned and put to death: and with this account Joſephus concludes his hiſtory of the Jewiſh war.

There was ſomething ſo very extraordinary in the conduct of theſe falſe Chriſts and falſe prophets, and in their appearance at that time particularly, that it may not be improper to beſtow ſome conſiderations upon this ſub-

Vol. II.

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ject.

* *ὡς δὲ μὲν οὖν καὶ τῆς Ἰουδαίας, ὅ μὴ τῇ προαγγελίᾳ πολλὰ συναπείλυστο.*
Nulla autem pars Judææ erat quæ ſimul cum urbe eminentiſſima non interibat. De Bell. Jud. Lib. 4. Cap. 7. Sect. 2. p. 190. Edit. Hudſon.

† Lib. 7. Cap. 3. Sect. 3.

‡ Ibid. Sect. 1.

¶ Ibid. Cap. 10. Sect. 1.

• †† Ibid. Cap. 11.

‡ Ibid. Cap. 6.

§ Ibid. Cap. 9.

** Ibid. Cap. 10.

ject, especially as these considerations may tend to confirm and strengthen us in our most holy religion.

1. It is obvious to observe from hence, that in all probability there hath been a true prophet, a true Christ, otherwise there would hardly have been so many cheats and counterfeits. Fictions are usually formed upon realities and their would be nothing spurious, but for the sake of something true and genuine. There would be no bad money, if there was none current and good. There would be no quacks and empirics, if there were no physicians able to perform real cures. In like manner there would be no pretenders to divine inspiration, were none truly and divinely inspired. There would not (we may reasonably presume) have been so many false Messiahs, had not a true Messiah been promised by God, and expected by men. And if a Messiah hath come from God, whom can we so properly pitch upon for the person, as the man Christ Jesus? If there were also some mock prophets in imitation of Mohammed, yet their number was nothing near so considerable, and his success was sufficient to excite and encourage them; whereas the fate and condition of Jesus would rather have deterred any impostors from following his example.

2. Another natural observation from hence is, that the Messiah was particularly expected about the time of our Saviour, and consequently that the prophets had beforehand marked out that very time for his coming. For we read not of any false Messiahs before the age of our Saviour, nor of so many in any age after; and why did they rise at that time particularly, if the Messiah was not at that time particularly expected? and why did the Jews expect their Messiah at that time more than at any other, if that was not the time before appointed for his coming? The prophet Daniel in particular had foretold, ix. 25, &c. that Messiah the prince should come towards the end of seventy weeks of years, or 490 years, from the going forth of the decree to restore and to rebuild Jerusalem. Before these weeks of years were, by one account or other, near expiring, history saith nothing of the false Messiahs; but when the prophetic weeks drew towards a conclusion, then these impostors arose frequent, like so many meteors
to

to dazzle the eyes, and mislead the wandering steps of Jews and Samaritans. Nothing can be a more evident and convincing proof, that the Jews then understood the prophecy in the same sense as the Christians, however they may endeavour to evade the force of it now. They pretend that the coming of the Messiah was delayed for the sins of the people, and therefore they still live in expectation of him, though they know neither the time nor the place of his appearing. Strange! that he who was to come for the sins of the people, should delay his coming for their sins: and more strange still! that God should falsify so many of his prophecies made by the mouths of his holy prophets, Num. xxiii. 19. 'God is not a man that he should lie, neither the son of man that he should repent: hath he said and would he do not do it? or hath he spoken, and would he not make it good?'

3. It may be farther observed from hence, that the Messiah was expected to work miracles. Miracles are the credentials of a messenger from God; and it was foretold particularly of the Messiah, that he should work miracles. There was no pretending therefore to the character of the Messiah without the necessary qualifications. Had not the power of working miracles been esteemed an essential ingredient in the character of the Messiah, these impostors would never have had the assurance to pretend to it, or been so foolish as to hazard their reputation, and venture their whole success upon such an experiment; but all of them to a man drew the people after them with a pretence of working miracles, of shewing signs, and wonders and apparitions. Now the very miracles which the Messiah was to perform, Jesus hath performed, and none other besides Jesus. The prophet Isaiah foretold, that the Messiah should cure the *lame* and the *blind*, the *deaf* and the *dumb*; and accordingly these very persons were cured in great numbers by Jesus. The prophet Isaiah foretold likewise, that these miracles should be wrought in 'the desert;' and accordingly in the desert Jesus wrought them; and by the way I suppose this prophecy was one principal reason why most of the false Christs and false prophets led their followers into solitudes and deserts promising there to shew signs and wonders. The prophet Isaiah foretold, xxxv. 1, &c. The wilderness and the so-

lity place shall be glad for them, and the desert shall rejoice, and blossom as the rose—They shall see the glory of the Lord, and the excellency of our God.—The eyes of the blind shall be opened, and the ears of the deaf shall be unstopped. The lame man shall leap as an hart, and the tongue of the dumb sing.’ The apostle and evangelist St Matthew relates, xv. 19, &c. that ‘Jesus departed from thence’ (from the coasts of Tyre and Sidon), ‘and came nigh unto the sea of Galilee, and went up into a mountain and sat down there. And great multitudes came unto him, having with them those that were lame, blind, dumb, maimed, and many others, and cast them down at Jesus feet, and healed them: insomuch that the multitude wondered, when they saw the dumb to speak, the maimed to be whole, the lame to walk, and the blind to see: and they glorified the God of Israel.’ Since then the miracles of the Messiah were wrought by Jesus alone Jesus alone can have any just claim to be the Messiah: and from his works we may conclude, John vi. 14. ‘This is of a truth that prophet that should come into the world.’

4. Very observable is the difference between the conduct and success of these deceivers and of Jesus Christ: for in him we have all the marks and characters of simplicity and truth, in them of fraud and imposture. They were men of debauched lives and vicious principles: he ‘did no sin,’ 1 Pet. ii. 22. ‘neither was guile found in his mouth;’ even Pilate his judge declared, John xix. 6. that he could ‘find no fault in him.’ They lived by rapine and spoil, by plunder and murder: He, Luke ix. 56. ‘came not to destroy men’s lives but to save them;’ He fed the hungry, healed the sick, and went from place to place doing good. Their conduct breathes nothing but ambition and pride, cruelty and revenge: his behaviour was all humility and meekness, charity and love of mankind. They were actuated by worldly motives, and proposed to themselves secular ends and interests; Jesus was the farthest removed from any suspicion of that kind, and when the people would have taken him, John vi. 15. ‘to make him a king,’ he withdrew himself from them, and departed again into a mountain himself alone.’ Their pretensions were accommodated to the carnal expectations of

of the Jews, and withal were backed by force and violence, and yet could not succeed and prosper : on the contrary, the religion of Jesus was spiritual, disclaimed all force, and took the way (humanly speaking) not to prevail, and yet prevailed against all the power and opposition of the world. Now of these who were the deceivers, think you, who was the true Christ? Had Jesus been an impostor, he would have lived and acted like an impostor. Had his design been any thing like theirs, like theirs it would have been discovered and brought to nought. Nothing could make his religion stand, but its coming from God. This is the reasoning of one, who cannot be suspected to favour the cause of Christianity, the learned Gamaliel in the Jewish Sanhedrim ; and to him that great council agreed, Acts v. 36, &c. ‘ Before these days rose up Theudas, boasting himself to be somebody, to whom a number of men, about four hundred, joined themselves ; who was slain, and all, as many as obeyed him, were scattered, and brought to nought. After this man rose up Judas of Galilee, in the days of the taxing, and drew away much people after him ; he also perished, and all, even as many as obeyed him, were dispersed. And now I say unto you, refrain from these men, and let them alone ; for if this counsel or this work be of men it will come to nought : but if it be of God, ye cannot overthrow it ; lest haply ye be found even to fight against God. And to him they agreed.’

5. But though the truth will at last prevail over error and imposture, yet it is a melancholy proof of the weakness and superstition, and enthusiasm of mankind, that these false Christs and false prophets should delude such numbers as they did to their destruction. The false Messiahs had for a time many more disciples and followers than the true Messiah. The Christians were once, Luke xii. 32. ‘ a little flock.’ The number of the names together, Acts i. 15. ‘ were about an hundred and twenty.’ Whereas these impostors attracted and drew away great multitudes, one of them * six thousand,

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another

* Joseph. de Bell. Jud. Lib. 6. Cap. 5. Sect. 2. *και συμμαχους εκατος πλειςτοις εις εξασιχιλοις.* et plurima multitudo promiscua, ad sex hominum milia. p. 1281. Edit. Hudson.

another * even thirty thousand. With a pretence of divine inspiration, they taught the people, as † Josephus expresseth it, *δαμονοῦν* to grow enthusiastically mad, as if they were possessed and actuated by some spirit or demon; and indeed no plague or epidemical distemper is more catching and contagious than enthusiasm. It passeth from man to man like wild fire. The imagination is soon heated, and there is rarely judgment enough to cool it again. ‘The very elect,’ even good Christians themselves, if they attend to enthusiasts, will be in danger of taking the infection, and be continually liable to be, Eph. iv. 14. ‘tossed to and fro, and carried about with every wind of doctrine,’ if they have not, (as all have not) a sufficient ballast of discretion to keep them steady. In reality enthusiasts know as little of the revelation given us by Christ, as of the reason given us by God. They are blind leaders of the blind. ‘Wherefore if they shall say unto you, Behold he is in the desert,’ behold his power is experienced in field-preaching, ‘go not forth; behold he is in the secret chambers,’ behold his presence is conspicuous in the tabernacles or conventicles, ‘believe it not.’ He is best sought in his word, and in his works; and he will certainly be found by those, and those alone, who love him, not with fanaticism and enthusiasm but in truth and soberness, so as to keep his commandments, which is the only infallible proof and legitimate issue of love. For as our Saviour himself saith, John xiv. 23, ‘If a man love me he will keep my words; and my Father will love him, and we will come unto him, and make our abode with him.’

6. Once more it is to be observed, that we must not credit every one, who cometh to us with a pretence of working miracles. For the false Christs and false prophets pretended to show great signs and wonders; and yet notwithstanding all their miraculous pretensions, our blessed Lord cautions his disciples not to believe or follow them. But then the question will be naturally asked, If we must not believe those who work miracles, whom must

* Lib. 2. Cap. 13. Sect. 5. *πρὸς τρισμύριας μὲν ἀβροῖζει τῶν πιστευόντων* usque ad triginta hominum millia, quos præstigiis deceperat, congregavit. p. 1075. 6.

† *ἐκστασιάζοντες*,—*δαμονοῦν* τοῦ δαίμονος ἀνεκρέθον. specie divini affatus, vulgo ut insaniunt persuadebant. Ibid. Sect. 4. 1075.

must we believe? how shall we know whether a person doth or doth not act by commission from heaven? how shall we distinguish whether the doctrine is of God or of men? Indeed if miracles were not possible to be wrought at all, as some have pretended; or could be wrought only by God, or those who are commissioned by him, as others have argued; the reply would be obvious and easy: but that miracles are possible to be wrought is a truth agreeable to reason, and that they may be wrought by evil spirits is a supposition agreeable to scripture; and therefore the best answer is, that reason must judge in this case as in every other, and determine of the miracles by the doctrines which they are alledged to confirm. If a doctrine is evil, no miracles can be wrought by a divine power in its behalf; for God can never set his hand and seal to a lie. If a doctrine is good, then we may be certain, that the miracles vouched for it were not wrought by the power of evil spirits; for at that rate, according to our Saviour's argument, Luke xi. 18. 'Satan would be divided against himself, and his kingdom could not stand.' Good spirits can never confirm and establish what is evil, neither can evil spirits be supposed to promote what is good. Supposing that the miracles, pretended in favour of Paganism were all real miracles, yet as they lead men to a corrupt religion and idolatrous worship, no reverence, no regard is to be paid to them according to the command of Moses, Deut. xiii. 2, &c. 'If there arise among you a prophet, or a dreamer of dreams, and giveth thee a sign or a wonder, and the sign or the wonder come to pass, whereof he spake unto thee, saying, Let us go after other gods (which thou hast not known) and let us serve them: Thou shalt not hearken unto the words of that prophet, or that dreamer of dreams: for the Lord your God proveth you to know whether you love the Lord your God with all your heart, and with all your soul.' In like manner we must not admit any thing contrary to the doctrines of Christ and his apostles, whatever miracles are boasted to recommend and authorize it. For the doctrines of the Christian religion are not only perfectly agreeable to reason, but moreover God hath confirmed it, amply confirmed it, by miracles, and hath enjoined us strictly to adhere to it; and
God

God can never be supposed to work miracles to confirm contradictions: and therefore allowing (what we cannot reasonably allow) that the miracles of Apollonius and other impostors were true and were attested, yet the foundation of Christ standeth firm, and cannot at all be shaken by them. Should any man, or number of men, with ever so grave and confident a pretence to infallibility assert—that it is our duty implicitly to believe and obey the church: when Christ commands us, Matt. xxiii. 9. ‘to call no man father upon earth, for one is our Father which is in heaven’—that the service of God is to be performed in an unknown tongue; when St Paul in his first Epistle to the Corinthians hath written a whole chapter, xiv. expressly against it—that the sacrament of the Lord’s supper is to be administered only in one kind; when Christ instituted it, Matt. xxvi. and his apostles ordered it, 1 Cor. xi. to be celebrated in both—that the propitiatory sacrifice of Christ is to be repeated in the mass; when the divine author of the Epistle to the Hebrews teacheth us, x. 10. that ‘the body of Jesus Christ was offered once for all,’ and, ver. 14. that ‘by one offering he hath perfected for ever them that are sanctified’—that men may arrive at such heights of virtue as to perform works of merit and supererogation; when our Saviour orders us, Luke xvii. 10. ‘after we have done all those things which are commanded us, to say, we are unprofitable servants, we have done *but* that which was our duty to do’—that attrition and confession together with the absolution of the priest will put a dying sinner into a state of grace and salvation; when the scripture again and again declares, Heb. xii. 14. that ‘without holiness no man shall see the Lord,’ and, 1 Cor. vi. 9. ‘the unrighteous shall not inherit the kingdom of God’—that the souls of men, even of good men, immediately after death pass into purgatory; when St John is commanded from heaven to write, Rev. xiv. 14. 13. ‘Blessed are the dead who die in the Lord, that they may rest from their labours, and their works do follow them’—that we must worship images, and the relics of the saints; when our Saviour teacheth us, Matth. iv. 10. ‘that we must worship the Lord God, and him only we must serve’—that we must invoke and adore saints and angels; when the apostle

apostle chargeth us, Col. ii. 18. to 'let no man beguile us of our reward in a voluntary humility and worshipping of angels'—that we must pray to the virgin Mary and all saints to intercede for us; when St Paul affirms, 1 Tim. ii. 5. that as there is only 'one God,' so there is only 'one mediator between God and men, the man Christ Jesus;' that it is lawful to fill the world with rebellions and treasons, with persecutions and massacres, for the sake of religion and the church; when St James assures us, i. 20. that 'the wrath of man worketh not the righteousness of God;' and when Christ maketh universal love and charity the distinguishing mark and badge of his disciples, John xii. 35. 'By this shall all men know that ye are my disciples, if you have love one to another'—I say should any man assert these things so directly contrary to reason and to the word of God, and vouch ever so many miracles in confirmation of them, yet we should make no scruple to reject and renounce them all. Nay, we are obliged to denounce anathema against the teacher of such doctrines, though he were an apostle, though he were an angel from heaven; and for this we have the warrant and authority of St Paul, and to shew that he laid peculiar stress upon it, he repeats it twice with great vehemence, Gal. i. 8, 9. 'Though we or an angel from heaven preach any other gospel unto you than that which we have preached unto you, let him be accursed. As we said before, so say I now again, If any one preach any other gospel unto you, than that ye have received, let him be accursed.' Indeed the miracles alledged in support of these doctrines are such ridiculous incredible things that a man must have faith, I do not say to remove mountains, but to swallow mountains, who can receive for truth the legends of the church of Rome. But admitting that any of the Romish miracles were undeniable matters of fact, and were attested by the best and most authentic records of time, yet I know not what the bishop of Rome would gain by it, but a better title to be thought Antichrist. For we know that the coming of Antichrist, as St Paul declares, 2 Theff. ii. 9. 10. 'is after the working of Satan with all power and signs, and lying wonders, and with all deceivableness of unrighteousness: and he doeth great wonders in the sight of men,' according to the

the prophecy of St John, Rev. xii. 13, 14. 'and deceiveth them that dwell on the earth by the means of those miracles which he hath power to do.' Nor indeed is any thing more congruous and reasonable, than that 'God' 2 Thes. ii. 10. 11. should send men strong delusion, that they should believe a lie, because they received not the love of the truth, that they might be saved.

But to return from this digression, though I hope neither an improper nor unedifying digression, to our main subject.

XX.

THE SAME SUBJECT CONTINUED

P A R T III.

WE are now come to the last act of this dismal tragedy, the destruction of Jerusalem and the final dissolution of the Jewish polity in Church and state, which our Saviour for several reasons might not think fit to declare nakedly and plainly, and therefore chooseth to clothe his discourse in figurative language. "He might possibly do it, as * Dr Jortin conceives, to perplex the unbelieving persecuting Jews, if his discourses should ever fall into their hands, that they might not learn to avoid the impending evil." "Immediately after the tribulation of those days, shall the sun be darkened, and the moon shall not give her light, and the stars shall fall from heaven, and the powers of the heavens shall be shaken." Commentators generally understand this and what follows of the end of the world and of Christ's coming to judgment: but the words 'immediately after the tribulation of those days' shew evidently that he is not speaking of any distant event, but of something immediately consequent upon the tribulation before-mentioned, and that must be the destruction of Jerusalem. It is true his figures are very strong, but no stronger than are used by the ancient prophets upon similar occasions. The prophet Isaiah speaketh

* Dr Jortin's Remarks on Ecclesiast. History, Vol I. p. 75.

eth in the same manner of Babylon, xiii. 9, 10. 'Behold the day of the Lord cometh, cruel both with wrath and fierce anger, to lay the land desolate; and he shall destroy the sinners thereof out of it. For the stars of heaven and the constellations thereof shall not give their light; the sun shall be darkened in his going forth, and the moon shall not cause her light to shine.' The prophet Ezekiel speaketh in the same manner of Egypt, xxxii. 7, 8. 'And when I shall put thee out, I will cover the heaven, and make the stars thereof dark; I will cover the sun with a cloud, and the moon shall not give her light. And the bright lights of heaven will I make dark over thee, and set darkness upon thy land, saith the Lord God.' The prophet Daniel speaketh in the same manner of the slaughter of the Jews by the little horn, whether by the little horn be understood Antiochus Epiphanes or the power of the Romans; viii. 10. 'And it waxed great even to the host of heaven; and cast down some of the host, and of the stars to the ground, and stamped upon them.' And the prophet Joel of this very destruction of Jerusalem, ii. 30, 31. 'And I will show wonders in the heavens and in the earth, blood and fire and pillars of smoke. The sun shall be turned into darkness, and the moon into blood, before the great and the terrible day of the Lord come.' Thus it is that in the prophetic language great commotions and revolutions upon earth, are often represented by commotions and changes in the heavens.

Our Saviour proceedeth in the same figurative stile, ver. 30. 'And then shall appear the sign of the Son of man in heaven; and then shall all the tribes of the earth mourn, and they shall see the Son of man coming in the clouds of heaven, with power and great glory.' The plain meaning of it is, that the destruction of Jerusalem will be such a remarkable instance of divine vengeance, such a signal manifestation of Christ's power and glory, that all the Jewish tribes should mourn, and many will be led from thence to acknowledge Christ and the Christian religion. In the ancient prophets, God is frequently described as coming in the *clouds*, upon any remarkable interposition and manifestation of his power; and the same description is here applied to Christ. The destruc-
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tion of Jerusalem will be as ample a manifestation of Christ's power and glory, as if he was himself to come visibly in the clouds of heaven.

The same sort of metaphor is carried on in the next verse, ver. 31. 'And he shall send his angels with the great sound of a trumpet, and they shall gather together his elect from the four winds, from one end of heaven to the other.' This is all in the stile and phraseology of the prophets, and stripped of its figures meaneth only, that after the destruction of Jerusalem, Christ by his angels or ministers will gather to himself a glorious church out of all the nations under heaven. The Jews shall be *thrust out*, as he expresseth himself in another place, Luke xiii. 28, 29. 'And they shall come from the east, and from the west, and from the north, and from the south; and shall sit down in the kingdom of God.' No one ever so little versed in history needeth to be told, that the Christian religion spread and prevailed mightily after this period; and hardly any one thing contributed more to this success of the gospel, than the destruction of Jerusalem, falling out in the very manner and with the very circumstances so particularly foretold by our blessed Saviour.

What Dr Warburton hath * written on the same subject will much illustrate and enforce the foregoing exposition. "The prophecy of Jesus, concerning the approaching destruction of Jerusalem by Titus, is conceived in such high and swelling terms, that not only the modern interpreters, but the ancient likewise, have supposed, that our Lord interweaves it into a direct prediction of his second coming to judgment. Hence arose a current opinion in *these* times, that the consummation of all things was at hand; which hath afforded a handle to an infidel objection in *these*, insinuating that Jesus, in order to keep his followers attached to his service, and patient under sufferings, flattered them with the near approach of those rewards, which completed all their *views* and expectations. To which, the defenders of religion have opposed this answer, That the distinction of short and long, in the duration of time, is lost in eternity, and with the Almighty, *a thousand years are but as yesterday*, &c.

"But

“ But the principle both go upon is false ; and if what hath been said be duly weighed, it will appear, that this prophecy doth not respect Christ’s *second* coming to judgment but his *first* ; in the abolition of the Jewish policy, and the establishment of the Christian : That kingdom of Christ, which commenced on the total ceasing of the theocracy. For as God’s reign over the Jews entirely ended with the abolition of the temple-service, so the reign of Christ, *in spirit and in truth*, had then its first beginning.

“ This was the true *establishment* of Christianity, not that effected by the donations or conversions of Constantine. Till the Jewish law was abolished, over which the *Father* presided as king, the reign of the *Son* could not take place ; because the sovereignty of Christ over mankind, was that very sovereignty of God over the Jews, transferred, and more largely extended.

“ This therefore being one of the most important æras in the œconomy of grace, and the most awful revolution in all God’s religious dispensations ; as we see the elegance and propriety of the terms in question, to denote so great an event, together with the destruction of Jerusalem, by which it was effected : for in the old prophetic language the change and fall of principalities and powers, whether spiritual or civil, are signified by the shaking heaven and earth, the darkening the sun and moon, and the falling of the stars ; as the rise and establishment of new ones are by processions in the clouds of heaven, by the sound of trumpet, and the assembling together of hosts and congregations.”

This language, as he observes * in another place, was borrowed from the ancient hieroglyphics. “ For as in the hieroglyphic writing the sun, moon, and stars were used to represent states and empires, kings, queens, and nobility ; their eclipse and extinction, temporary disasters, or entire overthrow, &c. so in like manner the holy prophets call kings and empires by the names of the heavenly luminaries ; their misfortunes and overthrow are represented by eclipses and extinction ; stars falling from the firmament are employed to denote the destruction of the nobility, &c. In a word, the prophetic stile seems to be a speaking hieroglyphic. These observations will

Vol. II.

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not

* Divine Legation, Vol. 2. Book 4. Sect. 4.

not only assist us in the study of the Old and New Testament, but likewise vindicate their character from the illiterate cavils of modern libertines, who have foolishly mistaken *that* for the peculiar workmanship of the prophet's heated imagination, which was the sober established language of their times, and which God and his Son condescended to employ as the properest conveyance of the high mysterious ways of providence in the revelation of themselves to mankind."

To St Matthew's account St Luke addeth, xxi. 24. ' And they shall fall by the edge of the sword, and shall be led away captive into all nations; and Jerusalem shall be trodden down of the Gentiles, until the times of the Gentiles be fulfilled. The number of those who ' fell by the edge of the sword,' was indeed very great. Of those who perished during the whole siege, there were, as Josephus * saith, eleven hundred thousand. Many were also slain † at other times and in other places. By the command of Florus, who was the first author of the war, there was slain at Jerusalem ‡ three thousand and six hundred: By the inhabitants of Cæsarea || above twenty thousand: At Scythopolis § above thirteen thousand: At Ascalon ¶ two thousand five hundred, and at Ptolemais two thousand: At Alexandria, under Tiberius Alexan- the president, my thousand: At Joppa, when it taken by Cestius Gallus, †† eight thousand four hundred. In a mountain called Asmon near Sepphoris †† above o thousand: At Damascus |||| ten thousand: In a bat- with the Romans at Ascalon §§ ten thousand: In an ambuscade near the same place ¶¶ eight thousand: At Je- * * * pha fifteen thousand. Of the Samaritans upon mount Garizin ††† eleven thousand and six hundred: At Jotapa forty

* των δ' ατολημένων κατα πωσαν την πολιορκίαν μυριαδες εκατον και δι- κα. totius autem obsidionis tempore undecies centena hominum millia perierunt. De Bell. Jud. Lib. 6. Cap. 9. Sect. 3. p. 1291. Edit. Hudson.

† Just. I. i. s. de Constantia. Lib. 2. Cap. 21. Usher's Annals in the conclusion. Bafnage's Hist. of the Jews, Book 1. Chap. 8. Sect. 19.

‡ Joseph. ibid. Lib. 2. Cap. 14. Sect. 9. || Ibid. Cap. 19. Sect. 1.

§ Ibid. Sect. 3. ¶ Ibid. 8. * Ibid. Sect. 10.

†† Ibid. Sect. 5. †† Ibid. Sect. 11. || Ibid. Cap. 20. Sect. 2.

§§ Lib. 3. Cap. 2. Sect. 2.

¶¶ Ibid. Sect. 3.

* * Ibid. Cap. 7. Sect. 31.

††† Ibid. Sect. 32.

* forty thousand : At Joppa, when taken by Vespasian, † four thousand two hundred : At Tarichea ‡ six thousand five hundred, and after the city was taken twelve hundred : At Gamala || four thousand slain, besides five thousand who threw themselves down a precipice : Of those who fled with John from Gischala § six thousand : Of the Gadarenes ¶ fifteen thousand slain, besides an infinite number drowned : in the villages of Idumea ** above ten thousand slain : At Garaza †† a thousand : At Machærus †† seventeen hundred : In the wood of Jarden ||| three thousand : In the castle of Masada §§ nine hundred and sixty : In Cyrene by Catullus the governor ¶¶ three thousand. Besides these many of every age, sex and condition, were slain in this war, who are not reckoned ; but of these who are reckoned, the number amounts to above one million, three hundred fifty-seven thousand, six hundred and sixty ; which would appear almost incredible, if their own historian had not so particularly enumerated them.

But besides the Jews who ' fell by the edge of the sword,' others were also to ' be led away captive into all nations : and considering the numbers of the slain, the number of the captives too were very great. There were taken particularly at Japha *** two thousand one hundred and thirty : At Jotapa ††† one thousand two hundred : At Tarichea ††‡ six thousand chosen young men were sent to Nero, the rest sold to the number of thirty thousand and four hundred, besides those who were given to Agrippa : of the Gadarenes ||||| two thousand two hundred : In Idumea §§§ above a thousand. Many besides these were taken at Jerusalem, so that as Josephus ¶¶¶ himself informs us,

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the

* Ibid. Sect. 36.

† Ibid. Cap. 8. Sect. 3^a

‡ Ibid. Cap. 9. Sect. 9, 10.

|| Lib. 4. Cap. 1. Sect. 10.

§ Ibid. Cap. 2. Sect. 5.

¶ Ibid. Cap. 7. Sect. 5.

** Ibid. Cap. 8. Sect. 2.

†† Ibid. Cap. 9. Sect. 1.

†† Lib. 7. Cap. 9. Sect. 4.

||| Ibid. sect. 5.

§§ Ibid. Cap. 9. sect. 1.

¶¶ Ibid. Cap. 11. sect. 2.

*** Lib. 3. Cap. 7. Sect. 31.

††† Ibid. sect. 36.

††† Ibid. Cap. 9. sect. 10.

||| Lib. 4. Cap. 7. sect. 5.

§§§ Ibid. Cap. 8. sect. 1.

¶¶¶ τῶνδὲ νῶν τὰς ὑψηλοτάτας καὶ καλὰς ἐκτεταχθῆσαι ἐπὶ τῇ θειᾷ πόλει. καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ πλεῖστοι τῶν ὑπὲρ ἑκτακκαίδεκα ἐτη θῆσας ἐπεμψεν εἰς τὰ κατ' Αἰγυπτὸν ἔργα, πλείους δ' εἰς τὰς ἰσχυρίας διδωρῆσθαι Τίτῳ φεραμένοις ἐν τοῖς διωστέροις σιδήρεσι καὶ θηρίοις, οἳ δ' ἐν τῷ ἑκτακκαίδεκα ἐτὶ ἐπὶ τῇ πόλει. — Τῶν μὲν

the number of the captives taken in the war amounted to ninety-seven thousand : the tall and handsome young men Titus reserved for his triumph ; of the rest, those above seventeen years of age were sent to the works in Egypt, but most were distributed through the Roman provinces, to be destroyed in their theatres by the sword or by the wild beasts : those under seventeen were sold for slaves, Of these captives many underwent hard fate. Eleven thousand of them * perished for want. Titus exhibited, all sorts of shows and spectacles at Cæsarea, and † many of the captives were there destroyed, some being exposed to the wild beasts, and others compelled to fight in troops against one another. At Cæsarea too in honour of his brother's birth day ‡ two thousand five hundred Jews were slain ; and a great number likewise at Berytus in honour of his father's. The like || was done in other cities of Syria. Those whom he reserved for his triumph § were Simon and John, the generals of the captives, and seven hundred others of remarkable stature and beauty. Thus were the Jews miserably tormented, and distributed over the Roman provinces ; and are they not still distressed and dispersed over all the nations of the earth ?

As the Jews were 'to be led away captive into all nations,' so Jerusalem was to be 'trodden down of the Gentiles, until the times of the Gentiles be fulfilled.' And accordingly Jerusalem has never since been in the possession of the Jews, but hath constantly been in subjection to some other nation, as first to the Romans, and afterwards to the Saracens, and then to the Franks, and then to the Mamalucs, and now to the Turks.

Titus

ων οντων λωστων παντων, οσα καὶ ὅλοι λαβὼν τὴν πόλιν, αἰχμὰς ἐντα μνη-
 § ἱπτακισχιλίοι συνηχθη. iuvenes autem lectos, qui proceritate
 † forma ceteris praeferrent, triumpho servabat. Ex reliqua autem
 multitudine, annis XVII. maiores victos ad metalla exercenda in Aegyptum misit ; plurimos etiam per provincias distribuit Titus, in theatris ferro et bestiis consumendos. Quicunque vero infra XVII. annum tatis erant, sub corona venditi sunt—
 Et captivorum quidem omnium, qui totius belli tempore capti sunt, numerus erat ad nonaginta septem millia. Lib. 6 Cap. 9. sect. 2. et 3. p. 1291. Προ ὅν ἡ ἐννεήκοντα scripsisse Josephum censet Villalpandus, tom. 3. p. 123.

* Ibid. sect. 2.

† Lib. 7. Cap. 2. Sect. 1.

‡ Ibid. Cap. 3. Sect. 1. || Ibid. Cap. 5. sect. 1. § Ibid. sect. 5.

* Titus, as it was related before, * commanded all the city as well as the temple to be destroyed ; only three towers were left standing for monuments to posterity of the strength of the city, and so many of the wall as encompassed the city, on the west, for barracks for the soldiers who were left there in garrison. All the rest of the city was so totally demolished, that there was no likelihood of its ever being inhabited again. The soldiers who were left there, † were the tenth legion, with some troops of horse and companies of foot, ‡ under the command of Terentius Rufus. When Titus § came again to Jerusalem in his way from Syria to Egypt, and beheld the sad devastation of the city, and called to mind its former splendour and beauty, he could not help lamenting over it, and cursing the authors of the rebellion, who had compelled him to the cruel necessity of destroying so fine a city. Vespasian § ordered all the lands of the Jews to be sold for his own use ; and all the Jews, whosoever they dwelt, to pay each man every year the same sum to the capitol of Rome, that they had before paid to the temple at Jerusalem. The desolation was so complete, that Eleazar ¶ said to his countrymen ; “ What is become of our city, which was believed to be inhabited by God ? It is rooted up from the very foundations, and the only monument of it that is left, is the camp of those who destroyed it, still pitched upon its remains. Some unhappy old men sit over the ashes of the temple, and a few women reserved by the enemy for the basest of injuries.”

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* Joseph. de Bell. Jud. Lib. 7. Cap. 1. Sect. 1. Edit. Hudson.

† Ibid. Sect. 2.

‡ Ibid. Cap. 2.

§ Ibid. Cap. 5. Sect. 2.

¶ Ibid. Cap. 6. Sect. 6.

* * τῶν γεγονότων ἡμῖν ἢ τὸν Θεὸν ἔχον ἐκίμησεν πιστεύουμένη· πόρρωτος ἐκ βε-
θλὸν ἀνηρπάσθη, καὶ μὴν αὐτῆς μνημεῖον ὑπολείπειται. τὶ τῶν ἀνηρησμένων καὶ
τὴν ἐρεττοσιπιδὸν ἐπὶ τοῖς λευφύνοις ἐποίησεν· πρὸς οὗτοι δὲ θυγατέρι τῇ σπαδῇ τε
τιμῆς παρεκκεκλήθηται, καὶ γυναῖκες ὀλίγαι πρὸς ὑβρίν ἀσχηρὴν ὑπὸ τῶν πο-
λῶν τσπηρεύονται· quid de ea factum est, quam Deum habitasse cre-
didimus ? Kadicirus ex fundamentis evulsæ est, et id solum ejus mo-
numentum relictum. castra sebet illorum a quibus excisa est jam
reliquis ejus imposita. Senes vero infelices templi cineribus affi-
dent, et paucæ mulieres ad turpissimam prioris injuriam ab hosti-
bus reservatæ. Ibid. Cap. 5. Sect. 7. p. 322.

The first who * rebuilt Jerusalem, though not all exactly on the same spot, was the Roman emperor *Ælius Adrian*, and he called it after his own name *Ælia*, and placed in it a Roman colony, and dedicated a temple to Jupiter Capitolinus in the room of the temple of the true God. While he was visiting the eastern parts of the empire, he came to Jerusalem, as *Epiphanius* informs us, forty-seven years after its destruction by *Titus*, and found the city all levelled with the ground, and the temple of God trodden under foot, except a few foundations: and he then formed the resolution of rebuilding it, but his design was not put in execution till towards the latter end of his reign. The Jews, naturally of a seditious spirit, were inflamed † upon this occasion into open rebellion, to recover their native city and country out of the hands of heathen violators and oppressors: and they were headed by a man called ‡ *Barabachab*, a vile robber and murderer, whose name signifying the *son of a star*, he confidently pretended that he was the person prophesied of by *Balaam* in those words, Num. xxiv. 17. 'There shall come a star out of Jacob, and a sceptre shall rise out of Israel.' They were § successful in their enterprises first through the neglect of the Romans: and it is probable as the rebellion was raised for this purpose, that they made themselves masters of *Ælia*, or the new Jerusalem, and massacred or chased from thence the heathen inhabitants, and the Romans besieged and took it again; for we read in several authors, in ¶ *Eusebius*, in ** *Jerome*, in †† *Chrysostom* and in ‡‡ *Appian* who lived at that time, that Jerusalem, was again besieged by the Romans under *Adrian*, and was entirely burnt and consumed. However that be, the Jews were at length subdued with a most terrible slaughter?

* *Dionis Cass. Hist. Lib. 69. p. 793. Edit. Leusclav. Hærov. 166.*

† *Epiphani de Meni et Pond. C. 14 p. 170. Vol. 2. Ed. Patavii.*

‡ *Dionis Hist. ibid.*

¶ *Euseb. Eccl. Hist. Lib. 4. Cap. 6. Vide etiam Scaligeri. Animadvers. in Eusebii Chron. p. 276.*

§ *Dionis Hist. ibid.*

¶ *Euseb. Demonst. Evang. Lib. 2. Cap. 38. p. 71. Lib. 6. Cap. 18 p. 286. Edit. Paris 1625.*

** *Hieron. in Jerom. XXXI. Col. 670. in Ezek. v. Col. 725. in Dan. IX. Col. 117. in Joel. I. Col. 1340. Vol. 3. Edit. Benedict.*

†† *Orat. v. advers. Judæos Vol. 1. 645. Edit. Benedict.*

‡‡ *Appian. de Bell. Syr. p. 119. Edit. Steph. p. 191. Edit. Tollm.*

ter : * fifty of their strongest castles, and nine hundred and eighty-five of their best towns were sacked and demolished ; five hundred and eighty thousand men fell by the sword in battle, besides an infinite multitude who perished by famine, and sickness, and fire, so that Judea was almost all desolated. The Jewish † writers themselves reckon, that doubly more Jews were slain in this war, than came out of Egypt ; and that their sufferings under Nebuchadnezzar and Titus were not so great as what they endured under the emperor Adrian. Of the Jews who survived this second ruin of their nation, an ‡ incredible number of every age and sex were sold like horses, and dispersed over the face of the earth. The emperor completed his design, rebuilt the city, re-established the colony, ordered the § statue of a hog in marble to be set up over the gate that opened towards Bethlehem, and § published an edict strictly forbidding any Jew upon pain of death to enter the city or so much as to look upon it at a distance.

In this state Jerusalem continued, being better known by the name of *Ælius* till the reign of the first Christian emperor, Constantine the Great. The name of Jerusalem had grown into such disuse, and was so little remembered or known especially among the Heathens, that when ¶ one of the martyrs of Palestine, who suffered in the persecution under Maximin was examined of what country he was, and answered of Jerusalem, neither the governor of the province, nor any of his assistants could comprehend what city it was, or where situated. But in Constantine's time it began to resume its ancient name ; and this emperor enlarged and beautified it with so many
stately

* Dionis Hist. ibid. p. 794,

† Author libri *Juchasin* scribit Hadrianum duplo plures *Judeos* in hoc bello trucidasse quam egressi sint ex *Egypto*. Alius libro qui interibitur בלחי דרומי, quem Druhus laudat in *Præteritis*, Non sic affuisse eos *Nebuchadnezzarem* neque *Titum* sicut *Hadrianus* imperator. *Nedé's Works*; B. 3. p. 443.

‡ Hieron. in Jerom. XXXI. Col. 679. in Zach. XI. Col. 1744. vol. 3. Edit. Benedict. Chron. Alex. p. 596.

§ Euseb. et Hieron. Chron. Ann. 137.

¶ Euseb. Hist. Lib. 4. Cap. 6. Hieron. in Is. VI. Col. 65. vol. 3. Edit. Benedict. Justin. Mart. Apol. Prim. p. 84. Edit. Par. p. 71. Edit. Benedict.

• ¶ Euseb. de Mart. Palæst. Cap. 11.

stately edifices and churches, that * Eusebius said more like a courtier than a bishop, that this perhaps was the new Jerusalem, which was foretold by the prophets. The Jew: who hated and abhorred the Christian religion as much or more than the Heathen, † assembled again, as we learn from St Chrysostom, to recover their city, and to rebuild their temple; but the emperor with his soldiers repressed their vain attempt; and having caused their ears to be cut off, and their bodies to be marked for rebels, he dispersed them over all the provinces of his empire, as so many fugitives and slaves.

The laws of Constantine, and of his son and successor Constantius, were likewise in other respects very severe against the Jews: but Julian, called the Apostate, the nephew of Constantine, and successor of Constantius, was more favourably inclined towards them; not that he really liked the Jews, but disliked the Christians, and out of prejudice and hatred to the Christian religion resolved to re-establish the Jewish worship and ceremonies. Our Saviour had said that † Jerusalem should be trodden down of the Gentiles; and he would defeat the prophecy, and restore the Jews. For this purpose he wrote kindly to the whole body or community of the Jews, expressing his concern for their former ill treatment, and assuring them of his protection from future oppression; and concluding with a promise, that ‡ if he was successful in the Persian war, he would rebuild the holy city Jerusalem, restore them to their habitations, live with them there, and join with them in worshipping the great God of the universe. His zeal even exceeded his promise; for before he set out from

* ταχα πυ ταυτην κειν τη δια προφητικων βεβαιωσεων κηρυχμενην κειναι Ιερουσαλημ, utque haec forsitan fuerit recens illa ac nova Ierusalem, prophetarum vaticiniis praedicata. Euseb. de Vit. Const. Lib. 3. Cap. 33.

† Chrysostom. Orat. 5. Advers. Jud. Sect. 11. p. 645. Orat. 6. Sect. 2. p. 651. vol. 1. Edit. Benedict.

‡ Iani Epist. 15. In τῇ κοινῇ, p. 295 Edit. Spanhemii.

§ — ἵνα καλῶς τον των Περσων πολεμον διορθωσιν. νος την εκ πολλων επι επιθυμιας: ην παρ' υμιν ιδειν

et ipse Persico bello ex animi sententia pulso, sanctam urbem Hierusalem, quam multos iam annos habitatem videre desideratis, meis laboribus resecam inculam, et una vobiscum in ea optatissimo gratias agam. Ibid. p. 328

from Antioch on his Persian expedition, he proposed to begin with * rebuilding the temple of Jerusalem, with the greatest magnificence. He assigned immense sums for the building. He gave it in charge to Alypius of Antioch, who had formerly been lieutenant in Britain, to superintend and hasten the work. Alypius set about it vigorously. The Governor of the province assisted him in it. But horrible bills of fire bursting forth near the foundations, with frequent assaults, rendered the place inaccessible to the workmen who were burnt several times: and in this manner the fiery element obstinately repelling them, the enterprise was laid aside. What a signal providence was it, that this no more than the former attempts should succeed and prosper; and that rather than the prophecies should be defeated, a prodigy was wrought even by the testimony of a faithful heathen historian? The interposition certainly was as providential, as the attempt was impious: and the account here given is nothing more than what Julian himself and his own historian have testified. There are indeed many witnesses to the truth of the fact, whom an † able critic hath well drawn together, and ranged in this order. “Ammianus Marcellinus an Heathen, Zemus David a Jew, who confesseth that Julian was *divinitus impeditus*, hindered by God in this attempt: Nazianzen and Chrysostom among the Greeks, St Ambrose and Rufinus among the Latins, who flourished at the very time when this was done: Theodoret and Sozomen orthodox historians, Philostorgius an Arrian, Socrates a favourer of the Novatians, who writ the story within the space of fifty years after the thing was done, and whilst the eye-witnesses of the fact were yet surviving.” But the public hath lately been obliged with the best and fullest

* Ambitiosum quondam apud Hierosolimam templum, quod post multa et interneciva certamina obsidente Vespasiano postea-que Tito ægre est expugnatum, instaurare sumptibus cogitabat immodicis; negotiumque maturandum Alypij dederat Antiocheni, qui olim Britannias curaverat pro præfectis. Cum itaque rei idem fortiter instaret Alypius, juvaretque provinciæ rector, metuendi globi flammarum prope fundamenta crebris assultibus erumpentes, fecere locum evastis aliquoties operantibus inaccessum. hocque modo clemente destinatus, repellente, cessavit inceptum. Amm. Marcell. Lib. 23. Cap. 1. p. 350. Edit. Valscii, 1681.

† Whitby's general preface, p. xxviii.

fullest account of this whole transaction in Dr Warburton's *Julian*, where the evidence for the miracle is set in the strongest light, and all objections are clearly refuted, to the triumph of faith and the confusion of infidelity.

Julian was the last of the heathen emperors. His successor Jovian made it the business of his short reign to undo, as much as was possible, all that Julian had done; and the succeeding emperors were generally for repressing Judaism, in the same proportion as they were zealous for promoting Christianity. Adrian's edict was * revived, which prohibited all Jews from entering into Jerusalem, or coming near the city; and guards were posted to enforce the execution of it. This was a very lucrative station to the soldiers; for the Jews † used to give money for permission to come and see the ruins of their city and temple, and to weep over them; especially on the day whereon Jerusalem had been taken and destroyed by the Romans. It doth not appear that the Jews had ever the liberty of approaching the city, unless by stealth or by purchase, as long as it continued in subjection to the Greek emperors. It continued in subjection to the Geeek emperors, till this, as well as the neighbouring cities and countries, fell under the dominion of the Saracens. Only in the former part of the seventh century after Christ, and in the beginning of the reign of the emperor Heraclius, it was ‡ taken and plundered by Chosroes king of Persia, and the greatest cruelties were exercised on the inhabitants. Ninety thousand Christians are said to have been sold and sacrificed to the malice and revenge of the Jews. But Heraclius soon repelled and routed the Persians, rescued Jerusalem out of their hands, and banished all Jews, forbidding them, under the severest penalties, to come within three miles of the city.

Jerusalem was hardly recovered from the depredations of the Persians, before it was exposed to a worse evil by the conquering arms of the Saracens. It was in the beginning

* Augustini Serm. 4. Sect. 5. Tom. 5. p. 23. Edit. Benedic. Antwerp. Sulpicii Severi Hist. Lib. 2. p. 99. Edit. Elzevir. 1656.

† Hieron. in Sophon. 1. Col. 1655. vol. 3. Edit. Benedic.

‡ Theoph. ad Heracl. p. 252, &c. Edit. Paris. p. 200, &c. Edit. Venet. Cedren. ad Heracl. p. 408. Edit. Paris. p. 322, &c. Edit.

Venet. Bafnage's Hist. of the Jews, Book 6. Cap. 18. Sect. 7.

ginning of the same seventh century, that Mohammed began to preach and propagate his new religion: and this *little cloud*, which was at first no bigger than a man's hand, soon overspread and darkened the whole hemisphere. Mohammed himself conquered some parts of Arabia. His successor Abubeker broke into Palestine and Syria. Omar the next caliph was one of the most rapid conquerors, who overspread desolation upon the face of the earth. His reign was of no longer duration than ten years and a half; and in that time he subdued all Arabia, Syria, Mesopotamia, Persia, and Egypt. His * army invested Jerusalem. He came thither in person; and the Christians after a long siege being reduced to the greatest extremities, in the year of Christ 637, surrendered the city upon capitulation. He granted them honourable conditions; he would not allow any of their churches to be taken from them; but only demanded of the Patriarch, with great modesty, a place where he might build a mosque. The patriarch shewed him Jacob's stone, and the place where the temple of Solomon had been built, which the Christians had filled with ordure in hatred to the Jews. Omar began himself to cleanse the place, and he was followed in this act of piety by the principal officers of his army; and it was in this place that the first mosque was erected at Jerusalem. Sophronius the patriarch † said upon Omar's taking possession of the city, "This is of a truth the abomination of desolation spoken of by Daniel the prophet standing in the holy place." Omar the conqueror of Jerusalem is by some authors said also to have died there, being stabbed by a slave at morning prayers in the mosque which he had erected. Abdolmelik the son of Merwan, the twelfth caliph, ‡ enlarged the mosque at Jerusalem, and ordered the people to go thither on pilgrimage instead of Mecca, which was then in the hands of the rebel Abdollah: and afterwards §, when the pilgrimage to Mecca was by any accident

* Elmacini Hist. Saracen. Lib. 1. p. 22, et 28. Edit. Erpenii Herbelor. Biblioth. Orientale. p. 687. Basnage's Hist. of the Jews, B. 6. Chap. 19. Sect. 2. Ockley's Hist. of the Saracens, Vol. 1. p. 243, &c.

† Theophanes, p. 281. Edit. Paris. p. 224. Edit. Venet. Basnage, ibid. Ockley, p. 249.

‡ Elmacin Hist. Sar. Lib. 1. p. 58. Ockley, Vol. 2. p. 299.

§ Herbelot. Bib. Orient. p. 270.

accident interrupted, the Musselman used to repair to Jerusalem for the same purposes of devotion.

In this manner the holy city was transferred from the possession of the Greek Christians into the dominion of the Arabian Musselmans, and continued in subjection to the caliphs till the latter part of the eleventh century, that is above 400 years. At that time * the Turks of the Selzuccian race had made themselves masters of Persia, had usurped the government, but submitted to the religion of the country; and being firmly seated there, they extended their conquests as far as Jerusalem, and farther. They drove out the Arabians, and also despoiled the caliphs of their power over it; and they kept possession of it, till being weakened by divisions among themselves, they were ejected by the caliph of Egypt. The caliph of Egypt, perceiving the divisions and weakness of the Turks, advanced to Jerusalem with a great army, and the Turks expecting no succour, presently surrendered it to him. But, though it thus changed masters, and passed from the Arabians to the Turks, and from the Turks to the Egyptians, yet the religion professed there was still the same, the Mahomedan being authorized and established, and the Christian only tolerated upon payment of tribute.

The Egyptians enjoyed their conquests but a little while; for, in † the same year that they took possession of it, they were dispossessed again by the Franks, as they are generally denominated, or the Latin Christians. Peter the Hermit of Amiens in France went on a pilgrimage to Palestine, and there having seen and shared in the distresses and miseries of the Christians, he represented them at his return in such pathetic terms, that by his preaching and instigation, and by the authority of Pope Urban II. and the Council of Clermont, the west was stirred up against the east, Europe against Asia, the Christians against the Mussulmen, for the retaking of Jerusalem, and for the recovery of the holy land out of the hands of the infidels.

In

* Elmacini Hist. Saracen. Lib. 3. p. 267—287. Abul-Pharajii Hist. Dyn. 9. p. 243. Vers. Pocockii. Herbelot. Bib. Orient. p. 269.

† Abul Pharajii Hist. Dyn. 9. p. 243. Vers. Pocockii Elmacini Hist. Saracen. Lib. 3. p. 293. Herbelot. Bib. Orient. p. 269.

‡ Abridgment of Knolles and Rycaut Vol. 1. p. 12. &c. Voltaire's Hist. of Europe, of the Crusades. Blair's Chron. Tables.

It was the epidemic madness of the time ; and old and young, men and women, priests and soldiers, monks and merchants, peasants and mechanics, all were eager to assume the cross, and to set out for what they thought the holy war. Some assert that the number of those who went out on this expedition amounted to above a million. They who make the lowest computation affirm, that there were at least there hundred thousand fighting men. After some losses and some victories the army sat down before Jerusalem, and after a siege of five weeks took it by storm, on the fifteenth of July in the year of Christ 1099 ; and all, who were not Christians, they put to the sword. They massacred above seventy thousand Musselmén ; and all the Jews in the place they gathered and burnt together ; and the spoil that they found in the mosques was of inestimable value. Godfrey of Boulogne, the general, was chosen king ; and there reigned nine kings in succession ; and the kingdom subsisted eighty years, till the year of Christ 1187, when the Musselmén regained their former dominion, and with scarce any interruption have retained it ever since.

At that time the famous Saladin, having subverted the government of the caliphs, had caused himself to be proclaimed sultan of Egypt. Having also subdued Syria and Arabia, he formed the * design of besieging Jerusalem, and of putting an end to that kingdom. He marched against it with a powerful and victorious army, and took it by capitulation on Friday the 2d of October, after a siege of fourteen days. He compelled the Christians to redeem their lives at the price of ten pieces of gold for a man, five for a woman, and two for a boy or girl. He restored to the oriental Christians the church of the holy sepulchre ; but forced the Franks or western Christians to depart to Tyre or other places, which were in the possession of their countrymen. But though the city was in the hands of the Musselmén, yet the Christians had still their nominal king of Jerusalem ; and for some time Richard I. of England, who was one of the most renowned crusaders, and had eminently distinguished himself in

Vol. II.

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the

* Elmacin. *ibid* p. 203 Abul-Pharaj. *ibid* p. 273, 274. Herbelot *ibid* p. 269 et 745. Kneller and Savage, p. 34. Voltarie's *ibid*. Mir's Chronol. Tables.

the holy wars, gloried in the empty title. The city however * did not remain so assured to the family of Saladin, but thirty years after his nephew Al Moadham, sultan of Damascus, was obliged to demolish the walls, not being able to keep it himself, and fearing lest the Franks who were then again become formidable in those parts, should establish themselves again in a place of such strength. Afterwards in the year 1228, † another of Saladin's family, Al Kamel, the sultan of Egypt, who after the death of his kinsman Al Moadham enjoyed part of his estates, to secure his own kingdom, made a treaty with the Franks, and yielded up Jerusalem to the emperor Frederic II. upon condition that he should not rebuild the walls, and that the mosques should be reserved for the devotions of the Musselmens. Frederic was accordingly crowned king there, but soon returned in to Europe. Not many years intervened, before ‡ the Christians broke the truce; and Melecalah, sultan of Egypt, being greatly offended, marched directly towards Jerusalem, put all the Franks therein to the sword, demolished the castle which they had built, sacked and razed the city, not even sparing the sepulchre of our Saviour, which till that time had never been violated or defiled; and || before the end of the same century, the crusaders or European Christians were totally extirpated out of the holy land, having lost in their eastern expeditions, according to some accounts, above two millions of persons.

Before this time the Mamalucs or the foreign slaves to the Egyptian sultans had usurped the government from their masters: and soon after this § Kazan the Chan of the Mogul-Tartars made an irruption into Syria, routed Al Naler the sultan of Egypt, had Damascus surrendered to him, and ordered Jerusalem to be prepared and fortified. But being recalled by great troubles in Persia, he was obliged to quit his new conquests, and the Mamaluc sultan of Egypt soon took possession of them again.

In

* Herbelot. *ibid.* p. 269. Knolles and Savage, p. 74. Voltaire, *ib.*

† Abul-Pharaji *ibid.* p. 305. Herbelot. p. 209 et 745. ‡ Knolles and Savage, p. 82. Voltaire *ibid.* and *Annals of the Empire*, Ann. 1229.

§ Herbelot. *ibid.* p. 269. Knolles and Savage, p. 83.

|| Knolles and Savage, p. 95. Voltaire, *ibid.*

¶ Pocockii *Supplm. Ad Abul-Pharaj.* p. 2. Knolles and Savage,

In like manner * when the great Timur or Tamerlane, like a mighty torrent, overwhelmed Asia, and vanquished both the Turkish and Egyptian sultans, he went twice in passing and repassing to visit the holy city, gave many presents to the religious persons, and freed the inhabitants from subsidies and garrisons. But the ebb was almost as sudden as the flood. He died within a few years, and his sons and grandsons quarrelling about the succession, his vast empire in a little time mouldered away; and Jerusalem with the neighbouring countries reverted to the obedience of the Mamalukes again. It was indeed in a ruined and desolate state, as Chalcocondylas † describes it, and the Christians paid a large tribute to the sultans of Egypt for access to the sepulchre of Jesus. And in the same state it continued, with little variation, under the dominion of the Mamalukes, for the space of above 260 years, till at length this with the other territories of the Mamalukes fell a prey to the arms of the Turks of the Ottoman race.

It was about the year 1516 that ‡ Selim the ninth emperor of the Turks turned his arms against Egypt; and having conquered one sultan, and hanged another, he annexed Syria, Egypt, and all the dominions of the Mamalukes to the Ottoman empire. In his way to Egypt, he did as Kazan and Tamerlane had done before him; he went to visit the holy city, the seat of so many prophets, and the scene of so many miracles. It lay at that time miserably desolated and ruined, according to the § account of a contemporary historian, not inhabited by the Jews who were banished into all the world, but by a few

S 2

Christians

* Chalcocondylas de rebus Turc. Lib. 3. Herbelot. p. 877, &c. Knolle's and Savage, p. 138, &c.

† *Τὸν δὲ σαρῶν ἱερὸν, κ. τ. λ.* Sepulchrum Jesu sub Palæstina istius regis in potestate situm est, unde plurimum lucri ei accidit—Situm in urbe Hierusalem, quæ devastata est cum maritimis regionibus. Chalcocond. *ibid.* p. 75. Edit. Paris. 59. Edit. Venet.

‡ Pocockii Supplem. ad Abul-Pharaj. p. 29, 30. 49. Herbelot. Bib. Orient. p. 801. Knolles and Savage, p. 240. &c. Prince Cantemir's Hist. of the Ottoman empire, in Selim I.

§ Pauli Jovii Hist. Lib. 17. Herbelot *ibid.* Knolles and Savage, p. 242. Prince Cantemir. *ibid.* Sect. 27. p. 163.

§ Paulus Jovius *ibid.* Ea tunc miserabili sacrarum ruinarum deformitate inculta atque deserta, non a Judæis viceribus sediculis, qui tunc toto orbe extorres in admitti sceleris pœnam, nec sedem nec patriam

Christians who paid a large tribute to the Egyptian sultans for the possession of the holy sepulchre. Selim offered up his devotions at the monuments of the old prophets, and presented the Christian priests with as much money as was sufficient to buy them provisions for six months; and having stayed there one night, he went to join his army at Gaza. From that time to this the Othman emperors have * possessed it under the title of *Hami*, that is of protectors and not of masters; though they are more properly tyrants and oppressors. Turks, Arabians, and Christians of various sects and nations dwell there out of reverence to the place; but very few Jews; and of those the greatest part, as Basnage † says, are beggars, and live upon alms. The Jews say, that when the Messiah shall come the city will undergo a conflagration and inundation, in order to be purified from the defilements which the Christian and Mohammedan have committed in it; and therefore they choose not to settle there. But the writer just mentioned assigns two more probable and natural reasons. "One is, that the Mahomedans look upon Jerusalem as a holy place; and therefore there are a great many *Santon*s and devout Musselmens, who have taken up their abode there, who are persecutors of the Jews as well as of the Christians, so that they have less tranquillity and liberty in Jerusalem than in other places: and as there is very little trade, there is not much to be got, and this want of gain drives them away."

By thus tracing the history of Jerusalem from the destruction by Titus to the present, it appears evidently, that as the Jews have been 'led away captive into all nations,' so Jerusalem hath been 'trodden down of the Gentiles.' There are now almost 1700 years, in which the Jewish nation have been a standing monument of the truth of Christ's predictions, themselves dispersed over the face of the whole earth, and the land groaning under

patriam habent, sed a paucis Christianis incolabatur. li cum ignominia et gravi admodum contumelia Christiani nominis, ob concessam venerandi sepulchri possessionem, grave tributum Ægyptiis regibus persolvent, &c.

et ses successeurs l'ont Possedee jusqu'a present sous le titre de *Hami*, c'est a dire, de protecteurs, et non pas de maitres. Her-
p. 270.

page Hist. of the Jews, B. 7. Chap. 24. Sect. 10.

der the yoke of foreign lords and conquerors : And at this day there is no reason to doubt but they will continue in the same state, nor ever recover their native country, ' until the times of the Gentiles be fulfilled.' Our Saviour's words are very memorable, ' Jerusalem shall be trodden down of the Gentiles, until the times of the Gentiles be fulfilled. It is still trodden down by the Gentiles, and consequently the times of the Gentiles are not yet fulfilled. When ' the times of the Gentiles *shall be* fulfilled,' then the expression implies that the Jews shall be restored : and for what reason, can we believe, that though they are dispersed among all nations, yet by a constant miracle they are kept distinct from all but for the farther manifestation of God's purposes towards them ? The prophecies have been accomplished to the greatest exactness in the destruction of their city, and its continuing still subject to strangers, in the dispersion of their people, and their living still separate from all people ; and why should not the remaining parts of the same prophecies be as fully accomplished too in their restoration, at the proper season, when ' the times of the Gentiles shall be fulfilled ?' The times of the Gentiles will be fulfilled, when the times of ' the four great kingdoms' of the Gentiles according to Daniel's prophecies shall be expired, and ' the fifth kingdom' or the kingdom of Christ shall be set up in their place, and ' the saints of the most High shall take the kingdom, and possess the kingdom for ever, even for ever and ever.' Jerusalem, as it hath hitherto remained, so probably will remain in subjection to the Gentiles, ' until *these* times of the Gentiles be fulfilled ;' or at St Paul expresseth it, Rom. xi, 25, 26. ' until the fulness of the Gentiles be come in ; and so all Israel shall be saved,' and become again the people of God. ' The fulness of the Jews' will come in as well as ' the fulness of the Gentiles.' For 12, &c. ' if the fall of them be the riches of the world, and the diminishing of them the riches of the Gentiles ; how much more their fulness ? For I would not, brethren, that ye should be ignorant of this mystery, that blindness in part is happened to Israel, until the fulness of the Gentiles be come in : And so all Israel shall be saved.'

XXI.

THE SAME SUBJECT CONTINUED.

PART IV.

WHEN we first entered on an explanation of our Saviour's prophecies relating to the destruction of Jerusalem, comprised chiefly in this 24th chapter of St Matthew, it was observed that the disciples in their question propose two things to our Saviour, first when should be the *time* of his coming or the destruction of Jerusalem, and secondly what should be the *signs* of it, ver. 3. 'Tell us when shall these things be, and what shall be the signs of thy coming, and of the conclusion of the age.' The latter part of the question our Saviour answereth first, and treateth at large of the *signs* of the destruction of Jerusalem from the 4th verse of the chapter to the 31st inclusive. He toucheth upon the most material passages and accidents, not only of those which were to fore-run this great event, but likewise of those which were to attend, and immediately to follow upon it: and having thus answered the latter part of the question, he proceeds now in verse 32d to answer the former part of the question, as to the *time* of his coming and the destruction of Jerusalem.

He begins with observing that the signs which he had given would be as certain an indication of the time of his coming, as the fig-tree's putting forth its leaves is of the approach of summer; ver. 32, 33. 'Now learn a parable of the fig-tree: when his branch is yet tender, and putteth forth leaves, ye know that summer is nigh: So likewise ye, when ye shall see all these things, know that it is near,' or he is near 'even at the doors.' He proceeds to declare that the time of his coming was at no very great distance; and to shew that he had been speaking all this while of the destruction of Jerusalem, he affirms with his usual affirmation, ver. 34. 'Verily I say unto you, This generation shall not pass, till all these things be fulfilled.' It is to me a wonder how any man can refer of the forgoing discourse to the destruction of Jerusalem,

Jerusalem, and part to the end of the world, or any other distant event, when it is said so positively here in the conclusion, 'All these things shall be fulfilled in this generation.' It seemeth as if our Saviour had been aware of some such misapplication of his words, by adding yet greater force and emphasis to his affirmation, ver. 35. 'Heaven and earth shall pass away, but my words shall not pass away.' It is a common figure of speech in the oriental languages, to say of two things that the one shall be and the other shall not be, when the meaning is only that the one shall happen sooner or more easily than the other. As in this instance of our Saviour, 'Heaven and earth shall pass away, but my words shall not pass away,' the meaning is, Heaven and earth shall sooner or more easily pass away than my words shall pass away; the frame of the universe shall sooner or more easily be dissolved than my words shall not be fulfilled: And thus it is expressed by St Luke upon a like occasion, xvi. 17. 'It is easier for heaven and earth to pass than one tittle of the law to fail.'

In another place he says, Matt. xvi. 28. 'There are some standing here, who shall not taste of death, till they see the Son of man coming in his kingdom:' intimating that it would not succeed immediately, and yet not at such a distance of time, but that some then living should be spectators of the calamities coming upon the nation. In like manner he says to the women, who bewailed and lamented him as he was going to be crucified, Luke xxiii. 28. 'Daughters of Jerusalem, weep not for me, but weep for yourselves, and for your children:' which sufficiently implied, that the days of distress and misery were coming, and would fall on them and their children. But at that time there was not any appearance of such immediate ruin. The wisest politician could not have inferred it from the then present state of affairs. Nothing less than divine prescience could have certainly foreseen and foretold it.

But still the exact time of this judgment was unknown to all creatures, ver. 36. 'But of that day and hour knoweth no man, no not the angels of heaven, but my Father only.' The word *ώρα* * is of larger signification than

hour;

* *Ωρα* hic non d'ci particulam sed latius sumti temporis ambiguum intelligo, &c. Grot. in locum.

hour; and besides it seemeth somewhat improper to say 'Of that day and hour knoweth no man;' for if the day was not known, certainly the *hour* was not, and it was superfluous to make such an addition. I conceive therefore that the passage should be rendered, not 'Of that day and *hour* knoweth no man,' but 'Of that day and *season* knoweth no man,' as the word is frequently used in the best authors both sacred and profane. It is true our Saviour declares 'All these things shall be fulfilled in this generation;' it is true the prophet Daniel hath given some intimation of the time in his famous prophecy of the seventy weeks: but though this great revolution was to happen towards the conclusion of seventy weeks or 490 years to be computed from a certain date that is not easy to be fixed; yet the particular *day*, the particular *season* in which it was to happen, might still remain a secret to men and angels: and our Saviour had before ver. 20. advised his disciples to pray that their flight be not in the winter, neither on the sabbath-day; the *day* not being known, they might pray that their flight be not on the *sabbath-day*; the *season* not being known, they might pray that their flight be not in the *winter*. As it was in the days of Noah, saith our Saviour, ver. 37, 38, 39. so shall it be now. As then, they were eating and drinking, marrying and giving in marriage, till they were surprised by the flood, notwithstanding the frequent warnings and admonitions of that preacher of righteousness: so now, they shall be engaged in the business and pleasures of the world, little expecting, little thinking of this universal ruin till it come upon them, notwithstanding the express predictions and declarations of Christ and his apostles. 'Then shall two be in the field the one shall be taken, and the other left; Two women shall be grinding at the mill.' Dr Shaw in his travels, making some observations upon the kingdoms of Algiers and Tunis, says in p. 297. that "women alone are employed to grind their corn, and that when the uppermost millstone is large, or expedition is required, then only a second woman is called in to assist." This observation I owe to Bishop Pearce.—'Two women shall be grinding at the mill, the one shall be taken, and the other left.' ver. 40, 41. That Providence will then make a distinction between such

- as are not at all distinguished now. Some shall be rescued from the destruction of Jerusalem, like Lot out of the burning of Sodom ; while others, no ways perhaps different in outward circumstances, shall be left to perish in it.

The matter is carried somewhat farther in the parallel place of St Mark ; and it is said not only that the angels were excluded from the knowledge of the particular time, but that the Son himself was also ignorant of it. The 13th chapter of that evangelist answers to the 24th of St Matthew. Our Saviour treateth there of the signs and circumstances of his coming and the destruction of Jerusalem, from the 5th to the 27th verse inclusive ; and then at verse the 28th he proceeds to treat of the time of his coming and the destruction of Jerusalem. The text in St Matthew is, ‘ Of that day and season knoweth no man, no not the angels of heaven but my Father only.’ The text in St Mark is, ‘ Of that day and season knoweth no man, no not the angels who are in heaven, neither the Son, but the Father.’ It is true the words *adde i dios*, ‘ neither the Son,’ were omitted in some copies of St Mark, as they are inserted in some copies of St Matthew : but there is no sufficient authority for the omission in St Mark, any more than for the insertion in St Matthew. Erasmus and some of the moderns * are of opinion, that the words were omitted in the text of St Matthew, lest they should afford a handle to the Arians for proving the Son to be inferior to the Father : but it was to little purpose to erase them out of St Matthew, and to leave them standing in St Mark. On the contrary St Ambrose and some of the ancients † assert that they were inserted in the text of St Mark by the Arians : but there is as little foundation or pretence for this assertion, as there is for the other. It is much more probable, that they were omitted in some copies of St Mark by some indiscreet orthodox, who thought them to bear too hard upon our Saviour’s dignity. For all the most ancient copies and translations extant retain them ; the most ancient

* Proinde suspicor hoc a nonnullis subtractum, ne Arianis esset ansa confirmandi Filium esse Patre minorem, &c. Erasmi in loc.

† Ambrose de Fide, Lib. 5. Cap. 8. Veteres Græci codices non habent, *Quod nec filius scit* ; sed non mirum est, si et hoc falsarunt, qui scripturas interpolare solent.

cient fathers quote them, and comment upon them : and certainly it is easier for words to be omitted in a copy : so that the omission should not generally prevail afterwards, than it is for words to be inserted in a copy so that the insertion should generally prevail afterwards. Admit the words therefore as the genuine words in St Mark we must, and we may without any prejudice to our Saviour's divinity. For Christ may be considered in two respects, in his human and his divine nature ; and what is said with regard only to the former, doth not at all affect the latter. As he was the great teacher and revealer of his Father's will, he might know more than the angels, and yet he might not know all things. It is said in St Luke ii. 52. that ' Jesus increased in wisdom and stature, and in favour with God and man. *He* increased in wisdom' and consequently in his human nature he was not omniscient. In his human nature he was the *son* of David ; in his divine nature he was the *Lord* of David. In his human nature he was upon earth ; in his divine nature he was *in heaven*, John iii. 13. even while upon earth. In like manner it may be said, that though as God he might know all things, yet he might be ignorant of some things as man. And of this particular the Messiah might be ignorant because it was no part of his office or commission to reveal it. ' It is not for you to know the times or the seasons, which the Father hath put in his own power,' as our Saviour said, Acts i. 7. when a like question was proposed to him. It might be proper for the disciples, and for the Jews too by their means, to know the signs and circumstances of our Saviour's coming and the destruction of Jerusalem ; but upon many accounts it might be unfit for them both, to know the precise time.

Hitherto we have explained this 24th chapter of St Matthew as relating to the destruction of Jerusalem, and without doubt as relating to the destruction of Jerusalem it is primarily to be understood. But though it is to be understood of this primarily, yet it is not to be understood of this only : for there is no question that our Saviour had a farther view and meaning in it. It is usual with the prophets to frame and express their prophecies so, as that they shall comprehend more than one event, and have their several periods of completion. This every one

must have observed, who hath been ever so little conversant in the writings of the ancient prophets : and this I conceive to be the case here, and the destruction of Jerusalem to be typical of the end of the world. The destruction of a great city is a lively type and image of the end of the world ; and we may observe that our Saviour no sooner begins to speak of the destruction of Jerusalem, than his figures are raised, his language is swelled, and he expresseth himself in such terms, as in a lower sense indeed are applicable to the destruction of Jerusalem, but describe something higher in their proper and genuine signification. ' The sun shall be darkened, the moon shall not give her light, the stars shall fall from heaven, the powers of the heavens shall be shaken, the Son of man shall come in the clouds of heaven with power and great glory, and he shall send his angels with a great sound of a trumpet, and they shall gather together his elect from the four winds, from one end of heaven to the other : ' These passages in a figurative sense as we have seen may be understood of the destruction of Jerusalem, but in their literal sense can be meant only of the end of the world. In like manner that text, ' Of that day and season knoweth no man, no not the angels of heaven, but my Father only ; ' the consistence and connection of the discourse oblige us to understand it as spoken of the time of the destruction of Jerusalem, but in a higher sense it may be true also of the time of the end of the world and the general judgment. All the subsequent discourse too, we may observe, doth not relate so properly to the destruction of Jerusalem, as to the end of the world and the general judgment. Our Saviour loseth sight as it were of his former subject, and adapts his discourse more to the latter. And the end of the Jewish state was in a manner the end of the world to many of the Jews.

The remaining part of the chapter is so clear and easy as to need no comment or explanation. It will be more proper to conclude with some useful reflections upon the whole.

It appears next to impossible, that any man should duly consider these prophecies, and the exact completion of them ; and if he is a believer, not be confirmed in the faith ; or if he is an infidel, not be converted. Can any
stronger

stronger proof be given of a divine revelation than the spirit of prophecy; and can any stronger proof be given of the spirit of prophecy, than the examples now before us, in which so many contingencies, and I may say improbabilities, which human wisdom or prudence could never foresee, are so particularly foretold, and so punctually accomplished! At the time when Christ pronounced these prophecies, the Roman governor resided at Jerusalem, and had a force sufficient to keep the people in obedience; and could human prudence foresee that the city as well as the country would revolt and rebel against the Romans? Could human prudence foresee *famines* and *pestilences* and *earthquakes* in divers places? Could human prudence foresee the speedy propagation of the gospel so contrary to all human probability? Could human prudence foresee such an utter destruction of Jerusalem with all the circumstances preceding and following it? it was never the custom of the Romans absolutely to ruin any of these provinces. It was improbable therefore that such a thing should happen at all, and still more improbable that it should happen under the humane and generous Titus who was indeed, as he was * called, *the love and delight of mankind*.

What is usually objected to the other predictions of holy writ, cannot with any pretence be objected to these prophecies of our Saviour, that they are figurative and obscure; for nothing can be conveyed in plainer simpler terms, except where he affected some obscurity, as it hath been shewn, for particular reasons. It is allowed indeed that some of these prophecies are taken from Moses and Daniel. Our Saviour prophesying of the same events hath borrowed and applied some of the same images and expressions. But this is a commendation rather than any discredit to his predictions. He hath built upon the foundations of the inspired writers before him; but what a superstructure hath he raised? He hath acted in this case as in every other, like one who came not to destroy the law and the prophets, but to fulfil them. He hath manifested himself to be a true prophet, by his exact interpretation and application of other prophets. He is also much more particular and circumstantial than either Mo-

ses

Amor ac deliciae humani generis, Suet. in Tito. Sect.

ses or Daniel. In several instances his prophecies are entirely new, and properly his own: and besides he uses greater precision in fixing and confining the time to that very generation.

For the completion of these prophecies the persons seem to have been wonderfully raised up and preserved by divine providence. Vespasian was promoted from obscurity; and though feared and hated by Nero, yet was preferred by him, and singled out as the only general among the Romans who was equal to such a war; God perhaps, as * Josephus intimates, so disposing and ordering affairs. He had subdued the greatest part of Judea, when he was advanced to the empire; and he was happy in putting an end to the civil wars, and to the other troubles and calamities of the state, or otherwise he would hardly have been at leisure to prosecute the war with the Jews. Titus was wonderfully preserved in the most critical articles of danger. While he was taking a view of the city, he was surrounded by the enemy, and nothing less was expected than that he should be slain, or made prisoner: but he resolutely broke through the midst of them, and though unarmed, yet arrived unhurt at his own camp: upon which † Josephus maketh this reflection, that from hence it is obvious to understand, that the turns of war and the dangers of princes are under the peculiar care of God. Josephus himself was also no less wonderfully preserved than Titus, the one to destroy the city, and the other to record its destruction. He marvellously escaped from the snares which were laid for him ‡ by John of Gischala, and § by Jesus the chief of the robbers: and when § his companions were determined to kill him and themselves rather than surrender to the Romans, he prevailed with them to draw lots who should be killed, the one after the other; and at last he was left

VOL. II.

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* *ταχα τι και περι των ελων ηδη ου Θεο προσοικονομεμεν.* forsan et Deo aliquid de universis præordinaute. Joseph. de bell. Jud. Lib. 3. Cap. i. Sect. 3 p. 1118. Edit. Hudson.

† *εἴθε δὴ μαλιστα παρῆγε νοεῖν, ὅτι καὶ ἐπὶ λήμων βροταὶ καὶ βασιλεῶν κινδυνεῖσι μιλῶνται τῷ Θεῷ,* hinc sane maxime licet intelligere, Deo curæ esse et le li momenta et regum pericula. Ibid. Lib. 3. Cap. 2 Sect. 2. p. 1216.

‡ Josephi Vita, Sect. 17, &c.

§ Ibid. Sect. 22.

§ De Bell. Jud. Lib. 3. Cap. 7.

with only one other, whom he persuaded to submit with him to the Romans. Thus was he saved from the most imminent destruction; and he himself esteemed it, as it certainly was, a singular instance of divine providence.

As Vespasian and Titus seem to have been raised up and preserved for the completion of these prophecies, so might Josephus for the illustration of their completion. For the particular passages and transactions, by which we prove the completion of these prophecies, we derive not so much from Christian writers, who might be suspected of a design to parallel the events with the predictions, as from Heathen authors, and chiefly from Josephus the Jewish historian, who though very exact and minute in other relations, yet avoids as much as ever he can the mention of Christ and the Christian religion. He doth not so much as once mention the name of *false Christs*, though he hath frequent occasion to speak largely of *false prophets*; so cautious was he of touching upon any thing that might lead him to the acknowledgment of the true Christ. His silence here is as remarkable, as his copiousness upon other subjects. It is indeed very providential, that a more particular detail, a more exact history is preserved of the destruction of Jerusalem, and of all the circumstances relating to it, than of any other matter whatsoever transacted so long ago: and it is an additional advantage to our cause, that these accounts are transmitted to us by a Jew, and by a Jew who was himself an eye-witness to most of the things which he relates. As a general in the wars he must have had an exact knowledge of all transactions, and as a Jewish priest he would not relate them with any favour or partiality to the Christian cause. His History * was approved by Vespasian and Titus (who ordered it to be published) and by king Agrippa and many others, both Jews and Romans, who were present in those wars. He had likewise many enemies who would readily have convicted him of any falsification, if he had been guilty of any. He designed nothing less, and yet as if he had designed nothing more, his history of the Jewish wars may serve as a larger comment on our Saviour's prophecies of the destruction of Jerusalem. If any one would compare our Saviour's words

* Josephi Vita. Sect. 65. Contra Apion, Lib. 1. Sect. 9.

words with that writer's history of the whole war, as * Eusebius very well observes, he could not but admire and acknowledge our Saviour's prescience and prediction to be wonderful above nature, and truly divine.

The predictions are the clearest, as the calamities were the greatest which the world ever saw: and what heinous sin was it, that could bring down such heavy judgments on the Jewish church and nation: Can any other with half so much probability be assigned, as what the scripture assigns, their crucifying the Lord of glory? As St Paul expresseth it, 1 Theff. ii. 15, 16. 'They both killed the Lord Jesus, and their own prophets, and persecuted the apostles,' and so 'filled up their sins, and wrath came upon them to the uttermost.' This is always objected as the most capital sin of the nation: and upon reflection, we shall find really some correspondence between their crime and their punishment. They put Jesus to death when the nation was assembled to celebrate the passover; and when the † nation was assembled too to celebrate the passover, Titus shut them up within the walls of Jerusalem. The rejection of the true Messiah was their crime; and the following of false Messiahs to their destruction was their punishment. They sold and bought Jesus as a slave; and they themselves were afterwards sold and bought as slaves at the lowest prices. They preferred a robber and murderer to Jesus, whom they crucified between two thieves; and they themselves ‡ were afterwards infested with bands of thieves and robbers. They put Jesus to death, lest the Romans should come and take away their place and nation; and the Romans did come and take away their place and nation. They

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crucified

* συγκρίνας δὲ τίς τις τῶ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν λῆξις τῆς λυπῆς τοῦ συγκραφίαν ιστορίας τῆς περὶ τῶ πάντος πολέμου. πως οὐκ ἐν ἀποδαιμασίῳ, θεϊκῶς αὐλῆως καὶ ὑπερφῶς παραδόντι τὴν προγινῶσι τι καὶ προήρηται τοῦ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν ἡμολογήσας. Quod si quis servatoris nostri verba cunctis his compararet, quae ab eodem scriptore de universo bello commemorata sunt, fieri non potest quin admiretur praescientiam ac praedictionem servatoris nostri, tamque vere divinam et supra modum stupendam esse fateatur. Euseb. Eccles. Hist. Lib. 3. Cap. 7.

† Joseph. de Bell. Jud. Lib. 6. Cap. 9. Sect. 3. et 4. Euseb. Hist. Lib. 3. Cap. 5.

‡ Joseph. ibid. Lib. 2. Cap. 4. et 13. Lib. 3. Cap. 8. Lib. 4. Cap. 3. Lib. 7. Cap. 8, &c.

crucified Jesus before the walls of Jerusalem; and before the walls of Jerusalem they themselves were crucified in such numbers, that it is * said room was wanting for the crosses, and crosses for the bodies. I should think it hardly possible for any man to lay these things together, and not conclude the Jews own imprecation to be remarkably fulfilled upon them, Matt. xxvii. 25. 'His blood be on us and on our children.'

We Christians cannot indeed be guilty of the very same offence in crucifying the Lord of glory: but it behoves us to consider, whether we may not be guilty in the same kind, and by our sins and iniquities, Heb. vi. 25. 'crucify the Son of God afresh, and put him to an open shame;' and therefore whether being like them in their crime, we may not also resemble them in their punishment. They rejected the Messiah, and we indeed have received him: but have our lives been at all agreeable to our holy profession, or rather as we have had opportunities of knowing Christ more, have we not obeyed him less than other Christians, and Heb. x. 29. 'trodden under foot the Son of God, and counted the blood of the covenant wherewith we are sanctified an unholy thing, and done despite unto the Spirit of grace?' The flagrant crimes of the Jews, and the principal sources of their calamities, in the opinion of † Josephus, were their trampling upon all human laws, deciding divine things, and making a jest of the oracles of the prophets as so many dreams and fables: and how hath the same spirit of licentiousness and infidelity prevailed likewise among us? How have the laws and lawful authority been insulted with equal insolence and impunity? How have the holy scriptures, those treasures of divine wisdom, not only been neglected, but despised, derided and abused, to the worst purposes? How have the principal articles of our faith

* και δια το πληθος χωρα τε ενλειπεται τοις σταυροις, και σταυροι τοις σωμασιν. et propter multitudinem ipsorum crucibus deerat, et corporibus cruce. Ibid. Lib. 5. Cap. 11. Sect. 1. p. 1247.

† καταπατεται μιν εν πας αυτοις θεσμοις ανθρωπων, ενστατο δε τα θεα, και τους των προφητων θεσμοις (Ab. χρησμος πιστις αγωνιστικας λογοποιιας εναντιον, et ab illis quidem omne jus humanum conculcabatur, et prophetarum commenta subannabant. Ibid. Lib. 4. Cap. 6. p. 1168. Edit. Hudson.

faith been denied, the prophecies and miracles of Moses and the prophets, of Christ and his apostles been ridiculed; and impiety and blasphemy not only been whispered in the ear, but proclaimed from the press? How hath all public worship and religion, and the administration of the sacraments been slighted and condemned, and the sabbath profaned by those chiefly who ought to set a better example; to whom much is given, and of whom therefore much will be required? and if for their sins and provocations, Rom. xi. 20, 21. 'God spared not the natural branches, take heed lest he also spare not thee.' Because of unbelief they were broken off, and thou standest by faith. Be not high-minded, but fear.' God bore long with the Jews: and hath he not bore long with us too? But he cut them off, when the measure of their iniquities was full; and let us beware lest our measure be not also well-nigh full, and we be not growing ripe for excision. What was said to the church of Ephesus, is very applicable to us and our own case, Rev. v. 'Remember therefore from whence thou art fallen, and repent, and do the first works; or else I will come unto thee quickly, and will remove thy candlestick out of his place, except you repent.'

XXII.

ST PAUL'S PROPHECY OF THE MAN OF SIN.

AS our blessed Saviour hath cited and appealed to the book of Daniel, so likewise have his apostles drawn from the same fountain. St Paul's and St John's predictions are in a manner the copies of Daniel's originals with some improvements and additions. The same times, the persons, and the same events are described by St Paul and St John as well as by Daniel; and it might therefore with reason be expected, that there should be some similitude and resemblance in the principal features and characters.

St Paul hath left in writing, besides others, two most memorable prophecies, both relating to the same subject, and one concerning 'the man of sin,' the other concern-

ing 'the apostasy of the latter times,' the former contained in the second Epistle to the Thessalonians, and the latter in the first Epistle to Timothy. The prophecy concerning 'the man of sin,' having been delivered first in time, may fitly be considered first in order: and for the fuller manifestation of the truth and exactness of this prediction, it may be proper, 1st, to investigate the genuine sense and meaning of the passage; 2dly, to show how it hath been mistaken and misapplied by some famous commentators; and 3dly, to vindicate and establish, what we conceive to be the only true and legitimate application.

I. In the first place it is proper to investigate the genuine sense and meaning of the passage: for a prophecy must be rightly understood, before it can be rightly applied. The apostle introduces the subject thus, 2 Thess. ii. 1, 2. 'Now we beseech you, brethren, by the coming of our Lord Jesus Christ, and by our gathering together unto him, That ye be not soon shaken in mind, or be troubled, neither by spirit, nor by word, nor by letter, as from us, as that the day of Christ is at hand.' The proposition, which is translated by, ought rather to have been translated *concerning*, as it signifies * in other places of scripture, and in other authors both Greek and Latin. 'Now we beseech you, brethren, *concerning* the coming of our Lord Jesus Christ, and our gathering together unto him.' For he doth not beseech them by the coming of Christ, but the coming of Christ is the subject of which he is treating; and it is in relation to this subject, that he desires them not to be disturbed or affrighted, neither by revelation, nor by message nor by letter as from him, as if the day of Christ's coming was at hand. The phrases of 'the coming of Christ' and 'the day of Christ' may be understood, either figuratively of his coming in judgment upon the Jews, or literally of his coming in glory to judge the world. Sometimes indeed they are used in the former sense, but they are more generally employed in the latter, by the writers of the New Testament: and the latter is the

* So it is rendered Rom. ix. 27. *Homines de gentibus utique tu legisti, Ephraim a se scribit concerning Israel.* See likewise 2 Cor. i. 7. vi. 23. 2; See Galen Lib. 1. ad Glauco. *utique morbum rogantem in iudicio, de omnibus ferre non datur.* Virgil. *Æn.* l. 730. *Multa super Priam rogatus, super Hector multa.*

the proper signification in this place, as the context will evince beyond contradiction. St Paul himself had planted the church in Thessalonica; and it consisted principally of converts from among the Gentile idolaters, because it is said 1 Thess. i. 9. that they 'turned to God from idols to serve the living and true God.' What occasion was there therefore to admonish them particularly of the destruction of Jerusalem? Or why should they be under such agitations and terrors upon that account? What connection had Macedonia with Judea, or Thessalonica, with Jerusalem? What there were to Christian converts to have in the calamities of the rebellious and unbelieving Jews; and why should they not rather have been comforted than troubled at the punishment of their inveterate enemies? Besides † how could the apostle deny that the destruction of the Jews was at hand, when it was at hand, as he saith himself, 1 Thess. ii. 16. and the 'wrath is come upon them to the uttermost?' He knew, and they knew, for our Saviour had declared, that the destruction of Jerusalem would come to pass 'in that generation;' and what a ridiculous comfort must it be to tell them, that it would not happen immediately, but would be accomplished within less than twenty years? The phrases therefore of 'the coming of Christ' and 'the day of Christ,' cannot in this place relate to the destruction of Jerusalem, but must necessarily be taken in the more general acceptation of his coming to judge the world. So the phrase is constantly used in the former Epistle. In one place the apostle saith, ii. 19. 'What is our hope, or joy, or crown of rejoicing? are not even ye in the presence of our Lord Jesus Christ at his coming?' In another place he wisheth, iii. 13. that 'the Lord may establish their hearts unblameable in holiness before God, even our Father, at the coming of our Lord Jesus Christ with all his saints.' And in a third place he prayeth i. v. 23. that 'their whole spirit

* At quis huic terrori locus si de Judæorum excidio augebatur? Quid Macedonæ cum Judæa, Thessal. cum Hieros. ? quid commune Christianis cum periculo rebellium Judæorum? &c. Simplicius in Poli synopsi.

† Præterea, quo jure potest apostolus inficiari, Judæorum excidium imminere, cum re ipsa jam adesset; uti liquet ex prioris epistolæ, Cap. 2. ver. 16. Bocharti Examen libelli de Antichristo. Jan. 2. Col. 1049.

spirit and soul, and body be preserved blameless unto the coming of our Lord Jesus Christ.' The texts evidently refer to the general judgment: and if the phrase be constantly so employed in the former Epistle, why should it not be taken after the same manner in this Epistle? In the former Epistle the apostle had exhorted the Thessalonians to moderate sorrow for the dead by the consideration of the resurrection and the general judgment, iv. 13, &c. 'I would not have you to be ignorant brethren, concerning them which are asleep, 'that ye sorrow not, even as others which have no hope. For if we believe that Jesus died, and rose again, even so them also which sleep in Jesus will God bring with him. For this we say unto you by the word of the Lord, that we which are alive, and remain unto the coming of the Lord, shall not prevent them which are asleep. For the Lord himself shall descend from heaven with a shout, with the voice of the archangel and with the trump of God: and the dead in Christ shall rise first. Then we which are alive, and remain, shall be caught up together with them in the clouds to meet the Lord in the air: and so shall we ever be with the Lord. But of the times and the seasons' of these things, as he proceeds, v. 1, 2. 'brethren, ye have no need that I write unto you. For yourselves know perfectly that the day of the Lord so cometh as a thief in the night.' Some persons having mistaken the apostle's meaning, and having inferred from some of these expressions, that the end of the world was now approaching, and the day of Christ was now at hand, the apostle sets himself in this place to rectify that mistaken notion: and it is with reference to 'this coming of Christ, to this day of the Lord, to this our gathering together unto him in the clouds to meet the Lord in the air,' that he beseeches the Thessalonians not to be shaken from their steadfastness, nor to be troubled and terrified as if it was now at hand. Nothing then can be more evident and undeniable, than that the coming of Christ here intended is his second coming in glory to judge the world: and of this his second coming the apostle had spoken before, in this same Epistle, and in the chapter before this, ver. 6—10. It is a righteous thing with God to recompense tribulation to them that trouble you: And to you who are troubled, rest with

us, when the Lord Jesus shall be revealed from heaven with his mighty angels, in flaming fire, taking vengeance on them that know not God, and that obey not the gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ : Who shall be punished with everlasting destruction from the presence of the Lord, and from the glory of his power : When he shall come to be glorified in his saints, and to be admired in all them that believe in that day.'

It was a point of great importance for the Thessalonians not to be mistaken in this particular ; because if they were taught to believe that the coming of Christ was at hand, and he should not come according to their expectation, they might be staggered in their faith, and finding part of their creed to be false, might be hasty enough to conclude that the whole was so. Where by the way we may observe Mr Gibbon's want of judgment, in assigning the notion of Christ's coming speedily as one of the great causes of the growth and increase of the Christian church, when it appears from this passage that it had a contrary effect, and tended to shake and unsettle their minds, and to disturb and trouble instead of inviting and engaging them. The apostle therefore cautions them in the strongest manner against this delusion : and assures them that other memorable events will take place before the coming of our Lord, ver. 3, 4. ' Let no man deceive you by any means : for that day shall not come, except there come a falling away first, and that man of sin be revealed, the son of perdition ; who opposeth and exalteth himself above all that is called God, or that is worshipped ; so that he as God, sitteth in the temple of God, shewing himself that he is God.' The day of Christ shall not come, *ουκ ην μεν ελθῃ αποστασια πρωτον*, 'except there come the apostasy first.' The apostasy here described is plainly not of a civil, but of a religious nature ; not a revolt from the government, but a defection from the true religion and worship, ' a departing from the faith,' 1 Tim. iv. 1. ' a departing from the living God,' Heb. iii. 12. as the word is used by the apostle in other places. In the original it is ' the apostasy' with an article to give it an emphasis. The article being added, as Erasmus * remarks, signifies that

* * articulus additus significat insignem illam et ante prædictam defectionem. Erasmi. in locum.

that famous and before predicted apostasy. So likewise it is *ὁ ἀνθρώπος τῆς ἀμαρτίας* 'the man of sin' with the like article and the like emphasis: and Saint * Ambrose, that he might express the force of the article, hath rendered it *that man*, as have likewise our English translators. If then the notion of 'the man of sin' be derived from any ancient prophet, it must be derived from Daniel, who hath described the like arrogant and tyrannical power: vii. 25. 'He shall speak great words against the most High, and shall wear out the saints of the most High, and think to change times and laws:' and again xi. 36. 'The king shall do according to his will, and he shall exalt himself, and magnify himself above every God, and shall speak marvellous things against the God of gods.' Any man may be satisfied, that St Paul alluded to this description by Daniel, because he hath not only borrowed the ideas, but hath even adopted some of the phrases and expressions. 'The man of sin' may signify either a single man, or a succession of men. A succession of men being meant in Daniel, it is probable, that the same was intended here also. It is the more probable, because a single man appears hardly sufficient for the work here assigned: and it is agreeable to the phraseology of scripture, and especially to that of the prophets to speak of a body or a number of men under the character of one. Thus 'a king,' Daniel vii. viii. Rev. xvii. is often used for the succession of kings, and 'the high-priests,' Heb. ix. 7, 25. for the series and order of high-priests. A single beast, Dan. vii. viii. Rev. xiii. often represents a whole empire or kingdom in all its changes and revolutions from the beginning to the end. The 'woman clothed with the sun,' Rev. xii. 1. is designed as an emblem of the true church; as the 'woman arrayed in purple and scarlet,' Rev. xvii. 4. is the portrait of a corrupt communion. No commentators ever conceived 'the whore of Babylon' to be meant of a single woman; and why then should 'the man of sin' be taken for a single man? 'The man of sin' seemeth to be expressed from Daniel vii. 24. according to the Greek translation. *ὁ βασιλεὺς κατὰ τὸν αἰῶνα τῶν αἰώνων*, he 'shall exceed

* Ambrosius, ut explicaret vim articuli, legiv hunc illi, &c.

ceed in evil all who went before him :’ and he may fulfil the character either by promoting wickedness in general, or by advancing idolatry in particular, as the word *sin* frequently signifies in scripture. ‘The son of perdition’ is also the denomination of the traitor Judas, John xvii. 12. which implies that ‘the man of sin’ should be, like Judas, a false apostle, like him betray Christ, and like him be devoted to destruction. ‘Who opposeth and exalteth himself above all that is called God, or that is worshipped :’ this is manifestly copied from Daniel, ‘He shall exalt himself, and magnify himself above every God, and speak marvellous things against the God of gods.’ The features, you see, exactly resemble each other. He ‘opposeth and exalteth himself above all,’ *κατατις παντα* above every one, ‘that is called God or that is worshipped,’ *τις θεου*, alluding to the title of the Roman emperors, *augustus* or venerable, He shall oppose, for the prophets speak of things future as present ; shall oppose, and exalt himself not only above inferior magistrates, who are sometimes called *gods* in holy writ, but even above the greatest emperors, and shall arrogate to himself divine honours. So that he as God sitteth in the temple of God, shewing himself that he is God :’ By ‘the temple of God’ the apostle could not well mean the temple at Jerusalem, because that he knew very well would be totally destroyed within a few years. It is an observation of the learned Bochart, that * after the death of Christ the temple at Jerusalem is never called by the apostles the temple of God ; and if at any time they make mention of ‘the house or temple of God,’ they mean the church in general, or every particular believer. It is certain, ‘the temple or house of God’ is the Christian church—in the usual stile of the apostles. St Paul thus addresseth the Corinthians in his first Epistle, iii. 16, 17. ‘Know ye not that ye are the temple of God, and that the Spirit of God dwelleth in you ? If any man defile the temple of God, him shall God destroy : for the temple of God is holy, which temple ye are :’ and thus again in his

* Verum a Christi obitu templum Hierosolymitanum nunquam ab apostolis templum Dei vocatur ; et si quando Dei ædi vel templo sermonem habeant, tum vel ecclesiam in genere, vel singularemque fidelem, iis vocibus intellecta volunt. Bochartii *Libelli de Antichristo*. Tom. 2. Col. 1047.

his second Epistle, vi. 16. 'What agreement hath the temple of God with idols? for ye are the temple of the living God. He adviseth Timothy, 1 Tim. iii. 15. 'how he ought to behave himself in the house of God which is the church of the living God, as a pillar and ground of the truth.' St John also writeth thus to the angel of the church in Philadelphia, Rev. iii. 12. 'Him that overcometh will I make a pillar in the temple of my God.' These few examples out of many are sufficient to prove, that under the gospel dispensation 'the temple of God' is the church of Christ: and the man of sin's *sitting* implies his ruling and presiding there, and 'sitting there as God' implies his claiming divine authority in things spiritual as well as temporal, and 'shewing himself that he is God' implies his doing it with great pride and pomp, with great parade and ostentation.

These things were not asserted now merely to serve the present occasion. The apostle had insisted upon these topics, while he was at Thessalonica; so that he thought it a part of his duty, as he made it a part of his preaching and doctrine, to forewarn his new converts of the grand apostasy that would infest the church, ver. 5, 6, 7. 'Remember ye not, that when I was yet with you, I told you these things? And now ye know what withholdeth, that he might be revealed in his time. For the mystery of iniquity doth already work: only he who letteth, will let, until he be taken out of the way.' The man of sin therefore was not then *revealed*. 'His time' was not yet come, or the season for his manifestation. 'The mystery of iniquity,' was indeed 'already working:' for there is a 'mystery of iniquity' as well as a 'mystery of godliness,' 1 Tim. iii. 16. the one in direct opposition to the other. The seeds of corruption were sown, but they were not yet grown up to any maturity. The leaven was fermenting in some parts, but it was far from having yet infected the whole mass. 'The man of sin' was yet hardly conceived in the womb? it must be some time before he could be brought forth. There was some obstacle that hindered his appearance, the apostle speaketh doubtfully whether thing or person; and this obstacle would continue to hinder till it was taken out of the way. What this was we cannot determine with absolute

certainly

certainly at so great a distance of time : but if we may rely upon the concurrent testimonies of the fathers, it was the Roman empire. Most probably it was somewhat relating to the higher powers, because the apostle observes such caution. He mentioned it in discourse, but would not commit it to writing. He afterwards exhorts the Thessalonians, ver. 15. ' Brethren, stand fast, and hold the traditions which ye have been taught, whether by word, or our epistle.' This was one of the traditions which he thought more proper to teach by word than by epistle.

When this obstacle shall be removed, *then*, as the apostle proceeds, ver. 8. ' shall that wicked be revealed, whom the Lord shall consume with the spirit of his mouth, and shall destroy with the brightness of his coming.' Nothing can be plainer than that *ὁ ἀνομος*, ' the lawless, the wicked one' here mentioned, and ' the man of sin' must be one and the same person. The apostle was speaking before of what hindered that he should be revealed, and would continue to hinder until it was taken out of the way ; and then shall the wicked one ' be revealed, whom the Lord shall consume, &c.' Not that he should be consumed immediately after he was revealed ; but the apostle, to comfort the Thessalonians, no sooner mentions his revelation, than he foretels also his destruction, even before he describes his other qualifications. His other qualifications should have been described first in order of time, but the apostle hastens to what was first and warmest in his thoughts and wishes. ' Whom the Lord shall consume with the spirit of his mouth, and shall destroy with the brightness of his coming.' If these two clauses refer to two distinct and different events, the meaning manifestly is, that the Lord Jesus shall gradually consume him with the free preaching and publication of his word, and shall utterly destroy him at his second coming in the glory of his Father with the holy angels. If these two clauses relate to one and the same event, it is a pleonasm that is very usual in the sacred as well as in all oriental writings ; and the purport plainly is, that the Lord Jesus shall destroy him with the greatest facility, ' when he shall be revealed from heaven' (as the apostle hath expressed it in the preceding chapter)

‘ with his mighty angels, in flaming fire, taking vengeance on them that know not God, and that obey not the gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ.’

The apostle was eager to foretel the destruction of the man of sin ; and for this purpose having broken in upon his subject, he now returns to it again, and describes the other qualifications, by which this wicked one should advance and establish himself in the world. He should rise to credit and authority by the most diabolical methods, should pretend to supernatural powers, and boast of revelations, visions, and miracles, false in themselves, and applied to promote false doctrines, ver. 9. ‘ Whose coming is after the working of Satan, with all power, and signs, and lying wonders.’ He should likewise practise all other wicked arts of deceit, should be guilty of the most impious frauds and impositions upon mankind ; but should prevail only among those who are destitute of a sincere affection for the truth, whereby they might obtain eternal salvation, ver. 10. ‘ And with all deceivableness of unrighteousness, in them that perish ; because they received not the love of the truth, that they might be saved.’ And indeed it is a just and righteous judgment of God, to give them over to vanities and lies in this world, and to condemnation in the next, who have no regard for truth and virtue, but delight in falsehood and wickedness, ver. 11, 12, ‘ And for this cause God shall send them strong delusion, that they should believe a lie : That they all might be damned, who believed not the truth, but had pleasure in unrighteousness.’

II. Upon this survey there appears little room to doubt of the genuine sense and meaning of the passage ; but it hath strangely been mistaken and misapplied by some famous commentators, though more agree in the interpretation than in the application of this prophecy.

1. Excellently learned as Grotius was, a consummate scholar, a judicious critic, a valuable author ; yet was he certainly no prophet, nor son of a prophet. In explaining the prophecies, scarcely have more mistakes been committed by any of the worst and weakest commentators, than by him who is usually one of the best and ablest. He understands this prophecy of the times preceding the destruction

destruction of Jerusalem. 'The man of sin' * was the Roman emperor Caligula, who did not at first discover his wicked disposition. He vainly preferred himself before all the gods of the nation, even before Jupiter Olympius Capitolinus; and ordered his statue to be set up in the temple at Jerusalem. He was hindered from disclosing and exercising his intended malice against the Jews by his awe of Vitellius, who was at that time governor of Syria and Judea, and was as powerful as he was beloved in those provinces. What follows Grotius could not by any means accommodate to Caligula, and therefore substitutes another, and supposes that 'the wicked one' was Simon Magus, who was revealed and came to Rome soon after the beginning of the reign of Claudius. He was there baffled and disgraced by St Peter; but Christ may well be said to have done what was done by Peter. He pretended also to work great miracles, and by his magical illusions deceived many, the Samaritans first, and afterwards the Romans. But in answer it may be observed, that this epistle of St Paul, as † all other good critics and chronologers agree, and as it is evident indeed from history, was written in the latter part of the reign of Claudius, who was successor to Caligula; and if so, the apostle according to this interpretation is here prophesying of things which were past already. 'The coming of Christ,' as it hath been before proved, undeniably relates to a more distant period than the destruction of Jerusalem. Besides, how could Caligula with any tolerable sense and meaning be called 'an apos-

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tate.

* Denudet ingenium suum Caius.—Sic et Caius omnibus se Diis gentium prætulit, etiam Jovi Olympio et Capitolino.—Recte autem dicitur Caius *semet posuisse in templo Dei*, quia simulacrum suum ibi collocari iussit.—L. Vitellius, cum Paulus ista diceret, et hæc scriberet, Syriam et Judæam tenebat, vir apud Judæos gratiosus, et magnis exercitiis imperans, cui propterea facile fuisset, si tam præviter Judæorum animos exasperasset Caius, eorum tutelam suscipere et provinciam sui facere juris. Ideo Caius, antequam propositum exsequeretur, tempus expectabat quo L. Vitellius e provincia decederet.—Recte autem *impius* dicitur Simon Magus, qui paulo post initio Claudiani principatus Romam venit.—Bene autem dicitur Christus fecisse quod fecit per Petrum.—Ostentia ista et prodigia Simois magica, etc.—Decipiuntur ab eò homines male perituri. Intelligit Samaritas primum, deinde et Romanos. Vide Grot. in locum et de Antichristo.

† Pearsoni Annales Paulini, p. 13. Sam. Basuagii Annales, A. D. c. Sect. 74. A. D. 41. Sect. 12. Whithy Prof. Calmet. Prof. J. J.

tate' from either the Jewish or the Christian religion? He never 'sat in the temple of God,' he commanded indeed his statue to be placed there; but was dissuaded from his purpose, as * Philo testifies by the intreaties of King Agrippa, and sent an order to Petronius governor of Syria not to make any innovation in the temple of the Jews. He was so far from being kept in awe by the virtues of Vitellius, that Vitellius on the contrary was a most sordid adulator, as both † Tacitus and Suetonius expressly affirm; and instead of restraining Caligula from affecting divine honours, he was the first who incited him to it. Moreover it is doing the greatest violence to the context, to make 'the man of sin and the wicked one' two distinct persons, when they are so manifestly one and the same. The contest between St Peter and Simon Magus at Rome, if ever it happened at all, did not happen in the reign of Claudius: but most probably there never was any such transaction; the whole story is palpably a fabulous legend, and consequently can be no foundation for a true exposition of any prophecy. Where too is the consistency and propriety in interpreting 'the coming of Christ' in ver. 1. of the destruction of Jerusalem, and in ver. 8. of the destruction of Simon Magus, though Simon Magus was not destroyed, but was only thrown out of his chariot, and his leg broken in the fall? These are some of the absurdities in Grotius's interpretation and application of this prophecy, which you may see more largely exposed and refuted by ‡ Bochart among the foreign, and Dr Henry Moore among our English writers.

2. Dr Hammond is every where full of Simon Magus and the Gnostics, so that it is the less to be wondered that he should introduce them upon this occasion, and apply this whole prophecy to them, wherein he is more consistent than Grotius, who applies part to Simon Magus, and part to Caligula. 'The apostasy,' || according to

* Philo de Legatione ad Caium. μηδεν επι τη ιερη των Ιουδαίων επι θωοτ. εγεν. κεινεν. nequid in Judæorum templo novaret, p. 1035. Edit. Jar. 1645.

† Exemplar apud posteros adulatorii dedecoris habetur. Tacit. Annal. Lib. 6. p. 71. Ed. Lipsii. Idem miri in adulando ingenii primus C. Cæsarem adorari ut Deum instituit. Suet. in Vitellio. S. 2. Bocharti Examen. Libelli. de Antichristo, Op. Tom. 2. Col. 1011. Moore's Mystery of Iniquity, Part 2. B. 2. Chap. 2. Hammond's Paraphrase and Annotations.

to him, was a great departure or defection from the faith to the heresy of the Gnostics. 'The man of sin' and 'the wicked one' was Simon Magus, that wicked impostor, together with his followers the Gnostics. What hindered their showing themselves and making open profession of their hostility against the orthodox Christians, was the apostles not having yet given over preaching to the Jews, and turned to the Gentiles. This same magician opposed himself against Christ, setting himself up for the chief or first God, superior to all other gods; and accordingly was publicly worshipped by the Samaritans and others, and had a statue erected to him at Rome by the emperor Claudius. Him Christ destroyed in an extraordinary manner by the preaching and miracles of St Peter; and all the apostatizing Gnostics who adhered to him, were involved in the destruction of the unbelieving Jews, with whom they had joined against the Christians. But the principal objection to this exposition is the same as to that of Grotius, that the apostle is here made to foretell things after the events. Simon Magus was already revealed, Acts viii. 9, 10, 'and had bewitched the people of Samaria giving out that himself was some great one: To whom they all gave heed from the least to the greatest, saying, This man is the great power of God.' Dr Hammond himself contends, that Simon came to Rome and was there honoured as God, at the beginning of the reign of Claudius; but this Epistle was written in the latter part of the same reign, and even the doctor in * another place confesseth it. The apostles too had already turned from the Jews to the Gentiles. Paul and Barnabas had declared to the Jews at Antioch in Pisidia, Acts xiii. 46. 'It was necessary that the word of God should first have been spoken to you; but seeing ye put it from you, and judge yourselves unworthy of everlasting life, lo, we turn to the Gentiles:' but this transaction was before this Epistle was written, and indeed before ever Paul went to Thessalonica. As part of the facts here predicted as future were already past, so the other part are manifestly false, or of uncertain credit at best. The statue erected to Simon Magus at Rome, and his public defeat there by the preaching and

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miracles

* See his Pref. to the 1st. Epistle to the Thessalonians.

miracles of St Peter in the presence of the emperor, are no better than fables. Even papists doubt the truth of these things and well may others deny it. Simon Magus might perhaps have many followers; but it doth not appear that many of the Christians apostatized to him. Simon Magus might perhaps be worshipped by the Samaritans; but it doth not appear that he was ever worshipped in the temple of God at Jerusalem, or in any house of God belonging to the Christians. He died by all accounts some years before the destruction of Jerusalem; and it doth not appear that any of the Gnostics were involved in the destruction of the unbelieving Jews. They were so far from being *all* involved in the same destruction as Dr Hammond asserts, that that sect flourished most after the destruction of Jerusalem, and the second century after Christ is sometimes distinguished by the title of *Seculum Gnosticum* or the age of the Gnostics. Besides when it is said 'Whom the Lord shall consume with the spirit of his mouth, and shall destroy with the brightness of his coming,' it is evident that the same person who was to be consumed with the spirit of his mouth, was also to be destroyed with the brightness of his coming: but according to this exposition, Simon Magus was consumed by the spirit of his mouth, that is by the prayer and preaching of St Peter; and the unbelieving Jews and Gnostics were destroyed together by the brightness of his coming,* that is by the destruction of Jerusalem. They who desire to see a farther refutation of this exposition, may find it in * Le Clerc among the foreign, and in Whitby among our English commentators.

3. Le Clerc, whose comment on the New Testament is a translation and supplement of Hammond's, hath not demolished his hypothesis without erecting † another of his own, which he esteems much more probable than the conjecture

* Clericus in locum. Whitby's Preface to the 2d Epistle to the Thessalonians.

† Nihil vetat in medium suspicionem preferre, quae haud paulo verisimilior videtur, et Grotiana et Hammondiana conjectura. *Argumentum* ergo suspicer. Paulum vocare *defectionem* illam magnam *Judaicorum*, qua imperii Romani jugum excutere frustra conaturi sunt, sequitur *hominem* *passum* esse rebelles *Judaeos*, et praesertim *eorum* ducem Simonem, non Magum, sed Giorae filium.

† Non *Judaei* auctoritatem omnem legitimam, cum exterorum *populorum*, tantum abest ut eluerint ut contra sese ea *superiores*

conjecture both of Grotius and Hammond. He supposeth that 'the apostasy' was the great revolt of the Jews from the Romans. 'The man of sin' was the rebellious Jews, ~~and~~ especially their famous leader Simon, not Magus, but the son of Gioras. They trampled upon all authority divine and human. They seized and profaned the temple of God. 'What hindered' was what restrained the Jews from breaking into open rebellion, which was partly the reverence of the Jewish magistrates, and partly the fear of the Roman armies. 'The mystery of iniquity' was the spirit of rebellion then working under the mask of liberty. The seditious Jews were also the 'wicked one;' and they had among them false prophets and impostors, who pretended to shew great 'signs and wonders.' But to this hypothesis it may be replied that 'th apostasy' is plainly a defection from the true religion, and it is used in no other sense by the apostle. It was not likely that he should entertain his new Gentile converts with discourses about the Jewish state and government, where-with they had little concern or connexion. It was also scarce worthy of the spirit of prophecy to say, that the destruction of Jerusalem should not happen, unless there was first a rebellion of the Jews. No good reason is assigned, why Simon the son of Gioras should be reputed 'the man of sin' rather than other factious leaders, John and Eleazar. No proof is alledged, that he was ever worshipped 'in the temple of God as God.' He was not 'exalted above every God or emperor;' for he was vanquished and made the emperor's prisoner. His coming was not 'with all signs and lying wonders;' for he never pretended to any such power. He was not destroyed in the destruction of Jerusalem; but was preserved alive, and was * afterwards led in triumph at Rome, and then was

riores existimarent. Scelerati illi Zelotæ et Idumæi, qui templum Jerosolymitanum invaserant, &c.—*το ναὶ ἕξον* est quod coercerat Judæos, ne in apertam rebellionem erumperent; hoc est, partim reverentia procerum Judææ gentis—partim metus exercitum Romanorum, &c. *Μυστήριον ἀνομίας*, quod fieri incipiebat hoc tempore, erat in eo situm, ut specie libertatis, &c.—Vere quidem noster *ἀνομίαν* vocari animadvertit scelestos homines, qui antea designati fuerant voce *ἡ ἀνομία*; sed intelligendi seditiosi Judæi, etc. Fuere et alii impostores, quorum non uno loco meminit Josephus, c. *ἐκκλησία*. in locum.

* Josephus de Bell. Jud. Lib. 7. Cap. 5. Sect. 6. Edit. Hus.

was dragged through the street with a rope about his neck, and was severely scourged, and at last put to death in the common prison. Besides, it is not very consistent in this learned critic, by 'the coming of Christ,' in ver. 9, to understand the destruction of Jerusalem, and in his note upon ver. 1. to say that * 'the coming of Christ,' both in the first Epistle of the Thessalonians, and in this, is the coming of Christ to judge the quick and the dead.

4. Dr Whitby's † scheme is somewhat perplexed and confused, as if he was not satisfied himself with his own explication. "*The Apostasy* is the revolt of the Jews from the Roman empire, or from the faith." If the former, it is the same mistaken notion as Le Clerc's. If the latter, it is true that many were to apostatize from the faith, before the destruction of Jerusalem, according to the prediction of our Saviour: but it doth not appear that their number was so very great, as to deserve to be called by way of eminence and distinction 'the apostasy.' "*The man of sin* is the Jewish nation with their high-priest and sanhedrim." But the Jewish nation with their high-priest and sanhedrim could not be said 'to apostatize' from the faith which they never received: and those Christian Jews who did apostatize were never united under any one head or leader, famous or infamous enough to merit the title of 'the man of sin.' The Jewish nation too with their high-priest and sanhedrim were already revealed; and most of the instances which this author alledgeth, of their opposing the Christian religion, and exalting themselves above all laws divine and human, were prior to the date of this Epistle. He was himself aware of this objection, and endeavours to prevent it, by saying, "that these are the description of *the man of sin*, by which the Thessalonians might then know him, and they run all in the present tense, shewing what he already did." But it is the known and usual stile of prophecy to speak of things future as present, intimating that though future they are as sure and certain as if they were even now present. "*He who now letteth* is the Roman Emperor Claudius, and he *will let until he be taken out of the way*, that is, he will hinder

Christi et in 1 Ep. ad Thessalonicenses, et in hac est
 status Christi, ad judicandum de vivis et mortuis. Cleric. in
 Dr Whitby's Paraphrase and Commentary.

der the Jews from breaking out into an open rebellion in his time, they being so signally and particularly obliged by him." But how utterly improbable is it, that the apostle should talk and write of Jewish politics to Gentile converts? If Claudius with-held the Jews from revolting from the Roman government, did he with-hold them also from apostatizing from the Christian faith? or what was it that with-held them? and what then becomes of that interpretation? "When Claudius shall be taken out of the way, as he was by poison, then they *shall be revealed*, either by actual apostacy from the Roman government, or by the great apostasy of the believers of the nation." But the apostasy of the believers was not near so great nor universal as the apostasy from the Roman government. Here too is the same ambiguity and uncertainty as before. The prophecy plainly intends one sort of apostacy, and this learned commentator proposeth two, and inclines sometimes to the one, and sometimes to the other, as may best suit his hypothesis. He is guilty too of the same inconsistency as Le Clerc, in interpreting 'the coming of Christ' in the former Epistle, and in this Epistle, and in the first verse of this very chapter, of his coming to judge the world; and yet in verie the eighth, of his coming to destroy Jerusalem. But if the destruction of Jerusalem only was meant, what need had the Thessalonians to be under such consternation, to 'be shaken in mind' and to be 'troubled,' that 'the wrath is come upon them to the uttermost,' as the apostle saith, 1 Theff. ii. 15, 16. 'who both killed the Lord Jesus, and their own prophets, and have persecuted us; and they please not God, and are contrary to all men, forbidding us to speak to the Gentiles, that they might be saved.' It was matter of consolation, rather than of trouble or terror to the Thessalonians; and as such the apostle mentions it in his former Epistle.

5. But of all the applications of this prophecy none is more extraordinary than that of the late professor Wetstein, the learned and laborious editor of the New Testament with the various readings and copious annotations. "By the man of sin and the wicked one he understands Titus

* Intelligo Titum sive domum Flavium—*μνηστικὸν τῆς ἀνομίας*, eo tempore Vespasianus consulatum jam gesserat, triumphatim accesserat, et jam sub Caio in spem imperii venerat.—*ὁ κατ' ἐξουσίαν*, 'Nepotam adoptatus erat, &c. Wetstenius in locum.

Titus or the Flavian family. *The mystery of iniquity* was then *working*, because at that time Vespasian had borne the office of consul, had received the honours of a triumph, and even under Caligula had entertained ~~the~~ hopes of the empire. *He who letteth* was Nero, who was now adopted by the emperor." One is really ashamed and grieved to see a scholar and critic fall into such absurdities. What! was Titus then, as well as the emperor Julian, an *apostate*? Was he, who was one of the best emperors, *the love and delight of mankind* to be branded with the odious appellations of 'the man of sin and the wicked one?' Even Domitian was not worse than several other emperors both before and after him. How did Titus and the Flavian family 'oppose and exalt themselves above every god or emperor?' How did they 'as God sit in the temple of God, shewing themselves that they were gods?' Why was Vespasian's hoping for the empire 'the mystery of iniquity,' more than Galba's, or Otho's, or Vitellius's hoping for the same? When Nero was 'taken out of the way,' were not these three emperors Galba, Otho, and Vitellius, all *revealed* before the Flavian family? How was 'the coming' of Titus and the Flavian family 'with all power, and signs, and lying wonders, and with all deceiveableness of unrighteousness? How were their adherents and followers such eminently as 'received not the love of the truth that they might be saved, but believed a lie that they might be damned, and had pleasure in unrighteousness?' How were Titus and the Flavian family destroyed in the destruction of Jerusalem, when they were themselves the destroyers of it, and reigned several years afterwards? Was there an illustrious coming of Christ, when Titus or any of the Flavian family died? Or how can the Lord be said to 'consume them with the spirit of his mouth, and to destroy them with the brightness of his coming?' It surpasseth all comprehension, how this learned professor could think of such an application, without asking himself any such questions; or how he could ask himself any such questions, without clearly perceiving the impossibility of answering them. We cannot suppose that he would have made a compliment of his religion, but he hath certainly of his understanding, to Cardinal Quirini, in this instance as well as

in his comment upon the Revelation, which, * as he humbly hopeth will not displease his eminency, and then he shall be transcendently happy.

It is a farther objection to Wetstein, as also to Grotius, Hammond, Le Clerc, and Whitby, that they are so singular in their opinions; they differ as much from one another, as from the generality of interpreters; and as they dissent from all who went before them, so they are followed by none who came after them. If this prophecy was fulfilled, as these critics conceive, before the destruction of Jerusalem, it is surprising that none of the fathers should agree with any of them in the same application, and that the discovery should first be made sixteen or seventeen hundred years after the completion. The fathers might differ and be mistaken in the circumstances of a prophecy which was yet to be fulfilled; but that a prophecy should be remarkably accomplished before their time, and they be totally ignorant of it, and speak of the accomplishment as still future, is not very credible, and will always be a strong presumptive argument against any such interpretation. The foundation of all the mistakes of these learned men is their interpreting 'the coming of Christ,' of the destruction of Jerusalem; whereas the context, as it hath been shewn, plainly evinces, and they themselves at other times acknowledge, that it is to be understood of his coming to judge the world. They therefore bid fairer for the true interpretation, who apply this prophecy to events after the destruction of Jerusalem.

6. Of those who apply this prophecy to events after the destruction of Jerusalem, some papists, and some persons who think like papists, contend that the character of 'the man of sin' was drawn for the great impostor Mohammed: and it must be confessed, that the portrait resembles him in many respects. He was indeed 'a man of sin' both in life and in doctrine. He might be said to 'sit in the temple of God,' when he converted the churches into mosques. He likewise rose upon the ruins of the Roman empire; and the Roman empire is generally thought to be *what withholdeth*. But though some features

* cui se uti spero, vel interpretationem Apocalypſeos, vel commentum saltem meum non displicuisse intellexero, *sublimi sermone sidera vestire*. Idem de Interpret. Apoc. loc. 2. p. 894.

tures are alike, yet others are very much unlike, and demonstrate a manifest difference. He was not properly an *apostate*, for he and his countrymen the Arabians ~~were~~ not Christians but Heathens, though he made many Christians afterwards apostatize from the faith. 'The mystery of iniquity,' as we have seen, was *working* in the days of the apostles: but there were not any indications of the rise and increase of Mohammedism; it sprung up of a sudden like a mushroom, whose seeds the winds scattered over the face of the earth. 'The apostasy' was to precede and introduce 'the man of sin,' but this man of sin was the first author of this apostasy. And what is the most material, he never pretended to confirm his mission, or authorize his doctrine by miracles. 'His coming was not with all power, and signs and lying wonders:' on the contrary he * declared, that "God had sent Moses and Jesus with miracles, and yet men would not be obedient to their word; and therefore he had now sent him in the last place without miracles, to force them by the power of the sword to do his will." Some of his followers have ascribed miracles to him: but as Dr Prideaux observes, "those who relate them are only such who are reckoned among their fabulous and legendary writers. Their learned doctors renounce them all, as doth Mohammed himself, who in several places in his Koran owns that he wrought no miracles."

7. Others of the papists affirm, that 'the apostasy' is the falling away from the church of Rome by the doctrines of the Reformation. But who then is 'the man of sin,' Luther and his followers, or Calvin and his followers, or who? for the protestants are far from being united under any one head. Which of the protestant churches exalts herself above every God and magistrate? Which of them arrogates to herself divine honours and titles? Which of them pretends to establish her doctrine and discipline by miracles? These things would be ridiculously and absurdly objected to the protestant churches, and more ridiculously and absurdly still by the members of the church of Rome.

8. The greater part of the Romish doctors, it must be added, give another interpretation, and acknowledge that

that * the fathers and the best interpreters understand this unanimously of Antichrist, who will appear in the world before the great day of judgment to combat religion and the saints. But then they conceive that Antichrist is not yet revealed, that he is only one man, and that he will continue only three years and a half. But we have shewn before, that 'the man of sin' is not a single man, any more than the 'whore of Babylon' is a single woman. The one as well as the other is to be understood of a whole order and succession of persons. 'The mystery of iniquity' was working, and preparing the way for 'the man of sin' even in the apostles days : and is it not very extraordinary, that 1700 years should elapse, and that he should not be revealed ? 'What withholdeth,' they say, was the Roman empire ; and the Roman empire might be powerful enough to hinder his appearance at that time, but how hath it withheld and hindered all this while ? As this evil began in the apostles days, and was to continue in the world till the second coming of Christ in power and great glory ; it necessarily follows, that it was to be carried on not by one man, but by a succession of men in several ages. It cannot be taking root and growing imperceptibly 1700 years and more, and yet flourish under its chief head only three years and a half. There needeth not surely so much preparation for so little effect. Neither are three years and a half a period sufficient for Antichrist to act the parts and to fulfil the characters which are assigned him ; unless he hath also this property of divinity, that 'one day is with him as a thousand years, and a thousand years as one day.'

III. The detection of falsehood is the next step towards the discovery of truth : and having seen how this passage hath been mistaken and misapplied by some famous commentators, we may be the better enabled to vindicate and establish what we conceive to be the only true and legitimate application. The Thessalonians, from some expressions in the former epistle, were alarmed as if the end of the world was at hand, and Christ was coming to judgment. The apostle, to correct their mistakes and

VOL. II.

X

disipate

* Les Peres, et les meilleurs interpretes entendent unanimement ci de l'Antechrist, qui doit paroître dans le monde avant le grand jour de jugement, pour combattre la religion et les saints. Calmêt Comment et Dissertation sur l'Antechrist.

disipate their fears, assures them, that the coming of Christ will not be yet awhile; there will be first a great apostasy or defection of Christians from the true faith and worship. This apostasy all the concurrent marks and characters will justify us in charging upon the church of Rome. The apostle mentions this apostasy in another place, 1 Tim. iv. 1, &c. and specifies some articles, as 'doctrines of demons, forbidding to marry, and commanding to abstain from meats,' which will warrant the same conclusion. The true Christian worship is the worship of 'the one only God' through 'the only one Mediator between God and men, the man Christ Jesus:' and from this worship the church of Rome hath notoriously departed by substituting other mediators, and by invoking and adoring saints and angels. Nothing is apostasy, if idolatry be not; and the same kind of idolatry is practised in the church of Rome, that the prophets and inspired writers arraign and condemn as apostasy and rebellion in the Jewish church. The Jews never totally rejected the true God, but only worshipped him through the medium of some image, or in conjunction with some other beings; and are not the members of the church of Rome * guilty of the same idolatry and apostasy in the worship of images, in the adoration of the host, in the invocation of angels and saints, and in the oblation of prayers and praises to the virgin Mary, as much or more than to God blessed for ever? This is the grand corruption of the Christian church, this is 'the apostasy' as it is emphatically called, and deserves to be called, 'the apostasy' that the apostle had warned the Thessalonians of before, 'the apostasy' that had also been foretold by the prophet Daniel.

If the apostasy be rightly charged upon the church of Rome, it follows of consequence that the 'man of sin' is the pope, not meaning this or that pope in particular, but the pope in general, as the chief head and supporter of this apostasy. The apostasy produces him, and he again promotes the apostasy. He is properly 'the man of sin,' not only on account of the scandalous lives of many popes, but by reason of their more scandalous doc-

trines,
 See Stillingfleet's Discourse concerning the idolatry of the
 . Vol. 5, of his works.

trines and principles, dispensing with the most necessary duties, and granting or rather selling pardons and indulgencies to the most abominable crimes. Or if by *sin* be meant idolatry particularly as in the Old Testament, it is evident to all how he hath corrupted the worship of God, and perverted it from 'spirit and truth' to superstition and idolatry of the grossest kind. He also, like the false apostle Judas, is 'the son of perdition,' whether actively as being the cause and occasion of destruction to others, or passively as being destined and devoted to destruction himself. 'He opposeth;' he is the great adversary to God and man, excommunicating and anathematizing, persecuting and destroying by croisadoes and inquisitions, by massacres and horrid executions, those sincere Christians, who prefer the word of God to all the authority of men. The Heathen emperor of Rome may have slain his thousands of innocent Christians, but the Christian bishop of Rome hath slain his ten thousands. There is scarce any country, that hath not one time or other been made the stage of these bloody tragedies : scarce any age, that hath not in one place or other seen them acted. 'He exalteth himself above all that is called God or that is worshipped ; not only above inferior magistrates, but likewise above bishops and primates, exerting an absolute jurisdiction and uncontrouled supremacy over all ; not only above bishops and primates, but likewise above kings and emperors, deposing some, and advancing others, obliging them to prostrate themselves before him, to kiss his toe, to hold his stirrup, to * wait bare-footed at his gate, treading † even upon the neck, and ‡ kicking off the imperial crown with his foot ; nor only above kings and emperors, but likewise above Christ and God himself, 'making the word of God of none effect by his traditions, forbidding' what God hath commanded, as marriage, communion in both kinds, the use of the scriptures in the vulgar tongue, and the like, and also commanding or allowing what God hath forbidden as idolatry, persecution, works of supererogation, and various other instances. 'So that he as God sitteth in the temple of God, shewing himself that he is God.' He is therefore

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in

- As Hildebrand or Gregory VII. did to Henry IV.
- As Alexander III. did to Frederic I.
- As Celestin did to Henry VI.

in profession a Christian, and a Christian bishop. His 'sitting in the temple of God' plainly implies his having his seat or cathedral in the Christian church: and he sitteth there 'as God,' especially at his inauguration, when he sitteth upon the high altar in St Peter's church, and maketh the table of the Lord his footstool, and in that position receiveth adoration. At all times he exerciseth divine authority in the church, 'shewing himself that he is God,' affecting divine titles and attributes, as holiness and infallibility, assuming divine powers and prerogatives, in condemning and absolving men, in retaining and forgiving sins, in asserting his decrees to be of the same or greater authority than the word of God, and commanding them to be received under the penalty of the same or greater damnation. Like another Salomoneus he is proud to imitate the state and thunder of the Almighty; and is styled, and pleased to be * styled, "Our Lord God the pope; another God upon earth; king of kings, and lord of lords. The same is the dominion of God and the pope. To believe that our Lord God the pope might not decree, as he decreed, it were a matter of heresy. The power of the pope is greater than all created power, and extends itself to things celestial, terrestrial, and infernal. The pope doth whatsoever he listeth, even things unlawful, and is more than God." Such blasphemies are not only allowed, but are even approved, encouraged, rewarded in the writers of the church of Rome; and they are not only the extravagances of private writers, but are the language even of public decretals and acts of councils. So that the pope is evidently the God upon earth: at least there is no one like him, who 'exalteth himself above every God; no one like him, 'who sitteth as God in the temple of God, shewing himself that he is God.'

Bat

* Dominus Deus noster papa. Alter Deus in terra. Rex regum, dominus dominorum. Idem est dominum Dei et papæ. Credere Dominum Deum nostrum papam non potuisse statuere, prout statuit, hæreticum censeretur. Papæ potestas est major omni potestate creata, extenditque se ad cœlestia, terrestria, et infernalìa. Papa facit quicquid libet, etiam illicita, et est plus quam Deus. See these and the like instances quoted in Bishop Jewel's *Apology and Defence*, in Downham's treatise de Antichristo, and in his *English Annotations*. See likewise Barrow's treatise of the *Supremacy* in the Introduction.

But if the bishop of Rome be 'the man of sin,' it may seem somewhat strange that the apostle should mention these things in an Epistle to the Thessalonians, and not earlier in his Epistle to the Romans. But this Epistle was written four or five years before that to the Romans, and there was no occasion to mention the same things again in another Epistle. What was written to the Thessalonians or any particular church, was in effect written to all the churches, the Epistles being designed for general edification, and intended to be read publicly in the congregations of the faithful. When St Paul wrote his Epistle to the Romans, he had not been at Rome, and consequently could not allude to any former discourse with them, as with the Thessalonians; and these things were not proper to be fully explained in a letter, and especially in a letter addressed to the Christian converts at the capital city of the empire. The apostles with all their prudence were represented as enemies to government, and were charged with 'turning the world upside down;' Acts xvii. 6. but the accusation would have been founded higher, if St Paul had denounced openly, and to Romans too, the destruction of the Roman empire. However he admonisheth them to beware of apostasy, Rom. xi. 10, 22. and to 'continue in God's goodness, or otherwise they shall be cut off:' afterwards when he visited Rome, and dwelt there 'two whole years,' Acts xxviii. 30. he might have frequent opportunities of informing them particularly of these things. It is not to be supposed, that he discoursed of these things only to the Thessalonians. It was a matter of concern to all Christians, to be forewarned of the great corruption of Christianity, that they might be neither surprised into it, nor offended at it: and the caution was the more necessary, as 'the mystery of iniquity was already working.' The seeds of popery were sown in the apostle's time: for even then idolatry was stealing into the church, 1 Cor. x. 14. and a voluntary humility and worshipping of angels,' Col. ii. 18. 'strife and divisions,' 1 Cor. iii. 3. an adulterating and handling of the word of God deceitfully, 2 Cor. ii. 17. iv. 2. 'a gain of godliness, and teaching of things for nithing lucre's sake,' 1 Tim. vi. 5. Tit. i. 11. a vain observation of festivals, Gal. iv. 10. a vain distinction of meats, 1

Cor. viii. 8. a 'neglecting of the body,' Col. ii. 23. 'Additions, and commandments, and doctrines of men,' Col. ii. 8, 22. with other corruptions and innovations. All heretics were in a manner the forerunners of 'the man of sin,' and Simon Magus in particular was so lively a type and figure of 'the wicked one,' that he hath been mistaken, as we see, for 'the wicked one' himself.

The foundations of popery were laid indeed in the apostle's days, but the superstructure was raised by degrees, and several ages passed before the building was completed, and 'the man of sin *was* revealed' in full perfection. St Paul having communicated to the Thessalonians what it was that hindered his appearance, it was natural for other Christians, also who read this Epistle, to inquire 'what withholdeth that he might be revealed in his time;' and 'the apostle without doubt would impart it to other Christians as freely as to the Thessalonians; and the Thessalonians and other Christians might deliver it to their successors, and so the tradition might generally prevail, and the tradition that generally prevailed was that what hindered was the Roman empire: and therefore the primitive Christians in the public offices of the church prayed for its peace and welfare, as knowing that when the Roman empire should be dissolved and broken into pieces, the empire of 'the man of sin' would be raised on its ruins. How this revolution was effected, no writer can better inform us than * Machiavel. "The emperor of Rome quitting Rome to hold his residence at Constantinople, the Roman empire began to decline, but the church of Rome augmented as fast. Nevertheless, until the coming in of the Lombards, all Italy being under the dominion either of emperors or kings, the bishops assumed no more power than what was due to their doctrine and manners; in civil affairs, they were subject to the civil power.—But Theodoric king of the Goths fixing his seat at Ravenna, was that which advanced their interest, and made them more considerable in Italy; for there being no other prince left in Rome, the Romans were forced for protection to pay greater allegiance to the pope. And yet their authority advanced no farther at that time, than to

* Machiavel's Hist. of Florence, Book I. p. 6, &c. of the English translation.

to obtain the preference before the church of Ravenna. But the Lombards having invaded, and reduced Italy into several cantons, the pope took the opportunity, and began to hold up his head. For being as it were governor and principal at Rome, the emperor of Constantinople and the Lombards bare him a respect, so that the Romans (by mediation of their pope) began to treat and confederate with Longinus [the emperor's lieutenant] and the Lombards, not as subjects, but as equals and companions; which said custom continuing, and the popes entering into alliance sometimes with the Lombards, and sometimes with the Greeks, contracted great reputation to their dignity. But the destruction of the eastern empire following so close under the reign of the emperor Heracleus,—the pope lost the convenience of the emperor's protection in time of adversity, and the power of the Lombards increasing too fast on the other side, he thought it but necessary to address himself to the king of France for assistance.—Gregory the third being created pope, and Aistolfus king of the Lombards, Aistolfus contrary to league and agreement seized upon Ravenna, and made war upon the pope. Gregory not daring (for the reasons above said) to depend upon the weakness of the empire, or the fidelity of the Lombards, (whom he had already found false) applied himself to Pepin—for relief against the Lombards. Pepin returned answer, that he would be ready to assist him, but he desired first to have the honour to see him, and pay his personal respects. Upon which invitation pope Gregory went into France, passing through the Lombards quarters without any interruption, so great reverence they bare to religion in those days. Being arrived and honourably received into France, he was after some time dismissed with an army into Italy; which having besieged Pavia, and reduced the Lombards to distress, Aistolfus was constrained to certain terms of agreement with the French, which were obtained by the intercession of the pope.—Among the rest of the articles of that treaty it was agreed; that Aistolfus should restore all the lands he had usurped from the church. But when the French army was returned into France, Aistolfus forgot his engagement, which put the pope upon a second application to king Pepin, who supplied him again, sent

a new army into Italy, overcame the Lombards, and possessed himself of Ravenna, and (contrary to the desire of the Grecian emperor) gave it to the pope, with all the lands under that exarchate.—In the interim Aistolfus died, and Desiderio a Lombard, and duke of Tuscany, taking up arms to succeed him, begged assistance of the pope, with promise of perpetual amity for the future.—At first Desiderio was very punctual,—delivered up the towns as he took them to the pope, according to his engagement to king Pepin; nor was there any exarch sent afterwards from Constantinople to Ravenna, but all was arbitrary, and managed according to the pleasure of the pope. Not long after Pepin died, and Charles his son succeeded in the government, who was called the Great from the greatness of his exploits. About the same time Theodore the First, was advanced to the papacy, and falling out with Desiderio was besieged by him at Rome. In his exigence the pope had recourse to the king of France, (as his predecessor had done before him) and Charles not only supplied him with an army, but marching over the Alps at the head of it himself, he besieged Desiderio in Pavia, took him and his son in it, sent them both prisoners into France, and went in person to Rome to visit the pope, where he adjudged and determined, *that his Holiness being God's vicar, could not be subject to the judgment of man.* For which the pope and people together declared him emperor, and Rome began again to have an emperor of the west: and whereas formerly the popes were confirmed by the emperors, the emperor now in his election was to be beholden to the pope; by which means the power and dignity of the empire declined, and the church began to advance, and by these steps to usurp upon the authority of temporal princes.”

In this manner the emperor of Rome, or ‘he who letteth, *was* taken out of the way,’ and the bishop of Rome was advanced in his stead. In the same proportion as the power of the empire decreased the authority of the church increased, the latter at the expence and ruin of the former; till at length the pope grew up above all, and *the wicked one* was fully manifested and ‘revealed, *or the lawless one*’ as he may be called; for the pope

* is declared again and again not to be bound by any law of God or man. 'His coming is after the energy of Satan, with all power, and signs, and lying wonders, and with all deceiveableness of unrighteousness:' and doth it require any particular proof, or is it not too generally known, that the pretensions of the pope, and the corruptions of the church of Rome are all supported and authorized by feigned visions and miracles, by pious frauds and impostures of every kind? Bellarmine reckons † the glory of miracles as the eleventh note of the catholic church; but the apostle assigns them as a distinguishing mark and character of 'the man of sin.' The church of Rome pretends to miracles, Mohammed disclaims them; and this is one very good reason, why 'the man of sin' is the Pope rather than the Turk. There hath been printed at London in the year 1756, a book intitled *The ruin of popery: the church of Christ asserted through each successive century from the apostles down to the present time*; and from thence the author draws the conclusion, that the catholic church is the true church of Christ. They must certainly 'not receive the love of the truth, but have pleasure in unrighteousness,' who can believe such fabulous and ridiculous legends, who hold it a mortal sin but to doubt of any article of their religion, who deny the free exercise of private judgment, who take away the free use of the holy scriptures, and so shut up the kingdom of heaven against men, neither going in themselves, neither suffering them, who were entering, to go in.' If they will still maintain their miracles to be true, yet they are no proof of the true church, but rather of the contrary. They are the miracles here predicted, and if they were really wrought, were wrought in favour of falsehood: and indeed it is a proper retaliation, that God in his just judgments 'should send men strong delusion that they should believe a lie, who received not the love of the truth that they might be saved;' a proper retaliation, that he should suffer some real miracles to be wrought to deceive those, who have counterfeited so many miracles to deceive others.

But

* See Bishop Jewel's Apology and Defence, p. 313, 314, 430, &c.

† Undecima nota est gloria miraculorum. Bellar. de Notis ecclis. Lib. 4. Cap. 14.

But how much soever 'the man of sin' may be exalted, and how long soever he may reign, yet at last the Lord shall consume him with the spirit of his mouth, and shall destroy him with the brightness of his coming.' This is partly taken from the prophet Isaiah, xi. 4. 'and with the breath of his lips shall he slay the wicked one : ' where the Jews as Lightfoot * observes, " put an emphasis upon that word in the prophet *the wicked one*, as it appeareth by the Chaldee paraphrast, who hath uttered it *He shall destroy the wicked Roman.*" If the two clauses, as it was said before, relate to two different events, the meaning manifestly is, that the Lord Jesus shall gradually consume him with the free preaching of his gospel, and shall utterly destroy him at his second coming in the glory of his Father. The former began to take effect at the Reformation, and the latter will be accomplished in God's appointed time. 'the man of sin' is now upon the decline, and he will be totally abolished, when Christ shall come in judgment. The kingdom of falsehood and sin shall end, and the reign of truth and virtue shall succeed. *Great is the truth, and will at last prevail.*

'The man of sin' then is the same arbitrary and wicked power that is described by Daniel under the characters of 'the little horn and the mighty king.' In St Paul he is *revealed*, when the Roman empire is 'taken out of the way ;' and in Daniel the Roman empire is first broken into several kingdoms, and he 'cometh up among them.' In St Paul 'he opposeth ;' and in Daniel 'he doth according to his will, and weareth out the saints of the most High.' In St Paul 'he exalteth himself above all that is called God or that is worshipped, shewing himself that he is God ;' and in Daniel 'he exalteth himself and magnifieth himself above every god, and speaketh marvellous things against the God of gods.' In St Paul he is 'the lawless one ;' and in Daniel he changeth times and laws.' In St Paul 'his coming is with all deceiveableness of unrighteousness ; and in Daniel 'he practiseth and prospereth, and through his policy causeth craft to prosper in his hand.' According to St Paul 'the Lord shall consume him with the spirit of his mouth, and shall destroy him with the brightness of his

coming; and according to Daniel 'a fiery stream shall issue and come forth from the judge, and his body shall be given to the burning flame, and they shall take away his dominion, to consume, and to destroy it unto the end.' The characters and circumstances are so much the same, that they must belong to one and the same person.

The tyrannical power thus described by Daniel and St. Paul, and afterwards by St. John, is both by ancients and moderns generally denominated *Antichrist*: and the name is proper and expressive enough, as it may signify * both the *enemy of Christ*, and the *vicar of Christ*: and no one is more the enemy of Christ, than he who arrogates his name and power, as no one more directly opposes the king than he who assumes his title and authority. The name began to prevail in St. John's time. For he addresseth himself to the Christians as having heard of the coming of Antichrist, and calleth the heretics of his time by the same common name: 1 Ep. ii. 18, 22. 'As ye have heard that the Antichrist shall come, even now are there many Antichrists: Who is a liar but he that denieth that Jesus is the Christ? he is the Antichrist that denieth the Father and the Son.' As St. Paul hath said, 'The mystery of iniquity doth already work:' so St. John speaketh of the spirit of Antichrist as then in the world; iv. 3. 'This is that spirit of Antichrist, whereof you have heard that it should come, and even now already is it in the world.' Afterwards 2 Ep. 7. 8. he stileth him emphatically 'the deceiver and the Antichrist,' and warneth the Christians to 'look to themselves.' The fathers too speak of *Antichrist* and of the *man of sin* as one and the same person; and give much the same interpretation that hath here been given of the whole passage: only it is not to be supposed, that they who wrote before the events, could be so very exact in the application of each particular, as those who have the advantage of writing after the events, and of comparing the prophecy and completion together.

Justin Martyr, who flourished before the middle of the second

* *Avri* signifies *pro, vice, loco*, as well as *contra, e regione, ex adverso*; and *αντιχριστις* is *prorox ανθιστατης* proconsul.

second century, * considers 'the man of sin,' or as 'e' elsewhere calleth him 'the man of blasphemy,' altogether the same with 'the little horn' in Daniel; and affirms, that he who shall speak blasphemous words against the most High, is now at the doors. Irenæus, who lived in the same century, hath written † a whole chapter of the fraud, and pride, and tyrannical reign of Antichrist, as they are described by Daniel and St Paul in his second Epistle to the Thessalonians. Tertullian, who became famous at the latter end of the same century, expounding those words 'only he that now letteth will let, until he be taken out of the way,' ‡ says "Who can this be but the Roman state, the division of which into ten kingdoms will bring on Antichrist, and then the wicked one shall be revealed." And in this Apology he || assigns it as a particular reason why the Christians prayed for the Roman empire, because they knew that the greatest calamity hanging over the world was retarded by the continuance of it.

Origen the most learned father and ablest writer of the third century, § recites this passage at large as spoken of him who is called Antichrist. To the same purpose he likewise alleges the words of Daniel as truly divine and prophetic. Daniel and St Paul, according to him, both prophesied of the same person.

Lactantius who flourished in the beginning of the fourth century, describes Antichrist in the same manner, and

* Dial. cum Tryph. p. 250. Edit. Paris. p. 201. Edit. Thirlbii καὶ τὸ βλασφημία καὶ τολμήματα τοῦ ἐν σφίσι μελλόντος λαλοῦντος ἐπὶ Συρακῇς οὗτος. eoque qui impie et temerarie maledicta in Altissimum prolocuturus est jam pro foribus assistente. Vide etiam p. 336. Edit. Paris. p. 371. Edit. Thirlbii.

† Adversus Hæreses. Lib. 5. Cap. 25. Antichristi fraus, superbia et tyrannicum regnum, prout a Daniele et Paulo descripta sunt, p. 437. Edit. Grabe.

‡ Quis, nisi Romanus Imperator? ejus abscessio in decem reges dispersa Antichristum superducet, et tunc revelabitur iniquus. De Resurrect. Carnis, Cap. 24. p. 340. Edit. Regaltii. Paris 1676.

§ Est et alia major necessitas nobis orandi pro imperatoribus, etiam pro omni statu imperii, rebusque Romanis, qui vim maximam universo urbi imminentem—Romam imperii comineatu primus retarpari Apol. Cap. 32. p. 27. Ibid.

¶ Contra Celsum, Lib. 6. p. 68. Opera, Tom. 1. Edit. Benedict.

had almost in the same terms as St Paul; and * concludes "This is he, who is called Antichrist, but shall feign himself to be Christ, and shall fight against the truth." A shorter and fuller character of the vicar of Christ could not be drawn even by a protestant. Cyrill of Jerusalem in the same century alleges this passage of St Paul together with other prophecies concerning Antichrist, and † says, that "This the predicted Antichrist will come, when the times of the Roman empire shall be fulfilled, and the consummation of the world shall approach. Ten kings of the Romans shall arise together, in different places indeed, but they shall reign at the same time. Among these the eleventh is Antichrist, who by magical and wicked artifice shall seize the Roman power." Ambrose archbishop of Milan in the same century, or Hilary the deacon or the author, (whoever he was), of the comment upon St Paul's epistle, which passeth under the name of St Ambrose, proposes much the same interpretation, and ‡ affirms, that after the falling or decay of the Roman empire, Antichrist shall appear.

Jerome, Austin, and Chrysostome flourished in the latter end of the fourth, or the beginning of the fifth century. St Jerome in his explanation of this passage § says, "that Antichrist shall sit in the temple of God, either at
Vol. II. Y Jerusalem

* Hic est autem, qui appellatur Antichristus; sed se ipse Christum mentietur, et contra verum dimicabit. Lactant. Lib. 7. Cap. 19.

† *ερχεται δε ο προειρημωτος Αντιχριστος οςτος, όταν πληρωθωσιν οι καιροι της Ρωμαιων βασιλειας, και πλησιαζει λοιπον τα της τε κοσμου συντελειας. δεκα μιν ημερ Ρωμαιων ειγισονται, βασιλεις. εν διαφοροις μιν ισως τοποις, κατα δε του αυτου βασιλευσσι καιρον. μετα δε τούτου ηνδικατος ο Αντιχριστος, εκ της μαγικης κακοτεχνης την Ρωμαιικην εξουσιαν αρπασας. Veniet autem hic praedictus Antichristus, cum impleta fuerint tempora imperii Romani, et mundi consummatio appropinquabit. Decem simul reges Romanorum, excitabuntur, in diversis quidem locis, eodem tamen tempore regnantes. Post istos autem undecimus Antichristus, per magicum maleficium Romanorum potestatem rapiens. Catch. 15. Cap. 5. p. 211. Edit. Miles. Oxon. 1703.*

‡ Post defectum regni Romani appariturum Antichristum. &c. Ambros. in locum.

§ Et in templo Dei, vel Jerosolymis (ut quidam putant) vel in ecclesia) ut verius arbitramur) sederit, ostendens se tanquam ipse sit Christus et Filius Dei: Nisi, inquit, fuerit Romanum imperium ante desolatum, et Antichristus praecesserit, Christus non venit-- *Et nunc quid desineat, scitis, ut revelatur in suo tempore; hoc est, quae causa sit, ut Antichristus in praesentium non veniat, optime nostis. Nec ulla a-*

Suppos. 5. p. 123. Edit. 1683.

Jerusalem (as some imagine) or in the church (if we more truly judge) shewing himself that he is Christ and the Son of God: and unless the Roman empire be first desolated, and Antichrist precede, Christ shall not come—*And now ye know what withholdeth that he might be revealed in his time;* that is, ye know very well what is the reason, why Antichrist doth not come at present. He is not willing to say openly, that the Roman empire should be destroyed, which they who command think to be eternal.—For if he had said openly and boldly, that Antichrist shall not come, unless the Roman empire be first destroyed, it might probably have proved the occasion of a persecution against the church.” Jerome was himself a witness to the barbarous nations beginning to tear in pieces the Roman empire, and upon this occasion * exclaims, “He who hindered is taken out of the way, and we do not consider that Antichrist approaches, whom the Lord Jesus shall consume with the spirit of his mouth.” St Austin having cited this passage † affirms, that “No one questions that the apostle spoke these things concerning Antichrist: and the day of judgment (for this he calleth the day of the Lord) should not come, unless Antichrist come first.—*And now ye know what withholdeth.*—Some think this was spoken of the Roman empire; and therefore the apostle was not willing to write it openly, lest he should incur præmunire, and be falsely accused of wishing ill* to the Roman empire, which was hoped to be eternal.” St Chrysostome, in one of his homilies upon this passage, speaking of what hindered the revelation of

Antichrist, perire dicere Romanum imperium destruendum, quod ipse qui imperant, æternum putant.—Si enim aperte audacterque dixisset, non veniet Antichristus, nisi prius Romanum deleatur imperium, iusta causa persecutionis in orientem tunc ecclesiam consurgere videbatur Algasia Quest. 11. Col. 209. Prior Pars. Tom 4. Edit. Benedict.

* Qui tenebat, de medio fit, et non intelligimus Antichristum appropinquare, quem Dominus Jesus Christus interficiet spiritu suo. Ad Ageruchiam de Menogamia, Col 748. Secund Pars.

† cum de Antichristo ista dixisset; diemque ju-

Antichrist, * asserts that "when the Roman empire shall be taken out of the way, then he shall come : and it is very likely : for as long as the dread of this empire shall remain, no one shall quickly be substituted ; but when this shall be dissolved, he shall seize on the vacant empire, and shall endeavour to assume the power both of God and men." And who hath seized on the vacant empire in Rome, and assumed the power both of God and man, let the world judge.

In this manner these ancient and venerable fathers expound this passage ; and in all probability they had learned by tradition from the apostle, or from the church of the Thessalonians, that what retarded the revelation of Antichrist was the Roman empire, but when the Roman empire should be broken in pieces, and be no longer able to withhold him, then he should appear in the Christian church, and domineer principally in the church of Rome. Even in the opinion of a Bishop of Rome, Gregory the great, who sat in the chair at the end of the sixth century, whosoever affected the title of universal bishop, he was Antichrist, or the fore-runner of Antichrist. "I speak it confidently, says † he, that whosoever calleth himself universal bishop, or desireth so to be called, in the pride of his heart he doth fore-run Antichrist." When John, then bishop of Constantinople, first usurped this title, Gregory made answer, "By this pride of his, what thing else is signified, but that the time of Antichrist is now at hand ?" Again he says upon the same occasion, "the king of pride (that is Antichrist) approach-

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eth ;

* ἡ ἀρχὴ ἡ Ῥωμαϊκὴ ὅταν κερθῇ ἐν μισθῷ, τότε ἰσχυρὸς ἔξει. καὶ σπουδαίως, ὡς γὰρ αὐτῇ αὐτῆς ἡ τῆς ἀρχῆς φόβος. ὑδὸς ταχέως ὑποτασσεται. ὅταν δὲ αὐτῇ καταλυθῇ, ἐκινήσεται τῇ ἀναρχίᾳ, καὶ τὴν τῶν ἀνθρώπων, καὶ τὴν τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐπιχειρήσει ἀρπάζειν. Quando Romanorum imperium de medio fuerit sublatum, tunc ille veniet. Et merito. Quamdiu enim fuerit metus hujus imperii, nemo cito subjicietur. Quando autem hoc fuerit eversum vacans invadat imperium hominumque Dei imperium aggredietur rapere. In loc. p. 530. Tom. 2. Ed. Beuedicti.

† Ergo fidenter dico, quod quisquis se universalem sacerdotem vocat, vel vocari desiderat, in elatione sua Antichristum præcurrit. Lib. 6. Epist. 30. Ex hac ejus superbia quid aliud, nisi propinqua jam esse Antichristi tempora designatur. Lib. 4. Epist. 34. Rex superbia prope est, et, quod dici uestas est, sacerdotum est præparatus exercitus. Lib. 4. Ibid. See Jewel's Defence of the Apology, Part 4. Cap. 16 p. 413. Barrow's Treatise of the pope's supremacy, Suppos. 5. p. 123. Edit. 1683.

eth; and what is wicked to be spoken, an army of *pests* is prepared." When the papal doctrines and the papal authority prevailed over all, it was natural to think and expect, that the true notion of Antichrist would be stifled, and that the doctors of the church would endeavour to give another turn and interpretation to this passage. That night of ignorance was so thick and dark, that there was hardly here and there a single star to be seen in the whole hemisphere. But no sooner was there any glimmering or dawning of a reformation, than the true notion of Antichrist, which had been so long suppressed, broke out again. As early as the year 1120 a treatise was published concerning Antichrist, wherein * the faithful are admonished, that " the great Antichrist was long ago come, in vain was he still expected, he was now by the permission of God advanced in years : " and the author, having described the corrupt state of the church at that time, says afterwards, " This state of men (not a single man) is Antichrist, the whore of Babylon, the fourth beast of Daniel, (to wit in his last state as it is said) that man of sin and son of perdition, who is exalted above every God, so that he sitteth in the temple of God, that is, the church, shewing himself that he is God; who is now come with all kind of seduction and lies in those who perish." The Waldenses and Albigenes propagated the same opinions in the same century. That the pope was Antichrist was indeed the general doctrine of the first reformers every where. Here in England it was † advanced by Wickliff, and was learnedly established by that great and able champion of the Reformation, Bishop Jewel,

* Anno Domini 1120.—*emissus est tractatus de Antichristo.—In hoc libro admonentur fideles. " Antichristum illum magnum jamdudum venisse, frustra adhuc expectari, esse jam Dei permissione astate proVectum : Hunc hominum statum (non singularem hominem) esse Antichristum, meretricem Babylonicam, quartam bestiam Danielis, (nempe in statu ejus novissimo, ut dictum est) hominem illum peccati, et filium perditionis, qui extollitur super omnem Deum, ita ut in templo Dei, id est ecclesia, sed esse ostendens se tanquam sit Deus; qui jam venit in omni genere seductionis et mendacii in iis qui pereunt. " Mede's Works B. 3. De numeris Danielis p. 271, 272.*

† Dialogorum Libri 4. quorum—quartus Romanæ ecclesiæ sacramenta, Antichristi regnum, &c. perscringit. Cave Hist. Lits. Vol. 2. Appendix, p. 63.

Jewel, in his Apology and Defence, and more largely in his Exposition upon the two Epistles of St Paul to the Thessalonians. This doctrine contributed not a little to promote the Reformation ; and wheresoever the one prevailed, the other prevailed also.

Such doctrine as this must necessarily give great offence to the bigots and devotees of the church of Rome : and no wonder therefore that † in the last Lateran council the pope gave strait commandment to all preachers, that no man should presume once to speak of the coming of Antichrist. The king of France also † with the advice of his counsel interdicted, that any one should call the pope Antichrist : and Grotius, who was ambassador in France from the crown of Sweden, in a vain hope and expectation of reconciling the disputes and differences between papists and protestants, composed his treatise concerning Antichrist, not wickedly, but weakly with an honest intention it may be presumed, but it is certain with pernicious effect ; more like an advocate for one party, than a moderator between both. At the same time in England, though James the first had written a treatise to prove the pope Antichrist, yet this doctrine was growing unfashionable during his reign, and more so in that of his son, who married a bigotted popish princess ; even while Mr Mede was living, who had exerted more learning and sagacity in explaining the prophecies, and in fixing the true idea of Antichrist, than perhaps any writer in any age. But probably for this very reason he was looked upon with an evil eye, and (to the disgrace of the times) obtained no preferment, though he was eminently deserving of the best and greatest. ‘ He says himself in one of his Letters (Epist. 36.) that his notions about genuflexion towards the altar “ would have made another man a dean, or a prebend, or something else ere this : but the point of the pope’s being Antichrist, as a dead fly, marred the favour of that ointment.” The abuse also that some fanatics made of this doctrine greatly prejudiced the world against it. It

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was

* Conc. Lateran. sub Julio et Leone. Sess. 11. Jewel’s Defence, ibid.

† — Prudentissimorum virorum usus consilio interdixit ne quis papam Antichristum vocet. Grot. de Antichristo in principio.

was esteemed a mark of a puritan, and was a certain ~~ob-~~stacle to preferment, for any man to preach that the pope was Antichrist: and Dr Montague, a famous court-chaplain at the time, who endeavoured to prove that the power of the king was absolute, * endeavoured also to prove that the notes and characters of Antichrist belonged to the Turk rather than to the Pope: and herein he was followed by several divines, and by no less a man than Bishop Fell, if he was the compiler or approver, (as he is commonly said to have been) of † the Paraphrase and Annotations upon all St. Paul's Epistles. There are fashions in divinity as well as in every thing else; and therefore the true doctrine of Antichrist was for some time suspended, and false hypothesis were invented; and it may surprise any one, that so little was said upon this subject in the long controversies concerning popery during the reigns of Charles and James the second. It is hoped that the truth is now emerging again. Some laudable ‡ attempts have lately been made to revive and restore it; and if I have not proved that this interpretation is preferable to all others, I have taken pains and proved nothing.

But it hath been proved, as I conceive, that this is the genuine sense and meaning of the apostle, that this only is entirely consistent with the context, that every other interpretation is forced and unnatural, that this is liable to no material objection, that it coincides perfectly with Daniel, that it is agreeable to the tradition of the primitive church, and that it hath been exactly fulfilled in all particulars, which cannot be said of any other interpretation whatsoever. Such a prophecy as this is at once an illustrious proof of divine revelation, and an excellent antidote to the poison of popery. It is like a two-edged sword, that will cut both ways, and wound the deist with one side, and the papist with the other. The papists are in some respects like the Jews. As the Jews believe not that Christ is come according

* See his book intitled *Appello Cæsarem*, Part. 2. Chap. 5.

† Printed at the Theatre in Oxford 1684, and said to be published under the direction of Bishop Fell

‡ Mr Langford's *Notes and Characters of the Man of Sin*. Printed 1746. Dr Benſen's *Dissertation concerning the Man*

According to the prophecies, but still live in expectation of him ; so neither do the papists perceive that Antichrist is come according to the prophecies, but still maintain that he shall arise hereafter. The apostle not only foretels this blindness and infatuation, but likewise assigns the reason, because they received not the love of the truth, but had pleasure in unrighteousness.' But to the protestants, who believe and profess that both the Christ and Antichrist are come, we may say with the apostle, ver. 13, 14. ' We are bound to give thanks alway to God for you, brethren, beloved of the Lord, because God hath chosen you to salvation, through sanctification of the spirit, and belief of the truth : Whereunto he called you by the gospel, to the obtaining of the glory of our Lord Jesus Christ. The apostle proceeds, ver. 15. ' Therefore, brethren, stand fast, and hold the traditions which ye have been taught, whether by word, or our epistle : ' and certainly there is not any oral tradition that hath a juster claim to be thought apostolical, than this of ' the man of sins ' succeeding upon the decline of the Roman empire, and exalting himself over all. Wherefore to conclude, as the apostle concludes the subject, ver. 16, 17. ' Now our Lord Jesus Christ himself, and God even our Father, who hath loved us, and hath given us everlasting consolation, and good hope, through grace, comfort your hearts, and establish you in every good word and work.' "

XXIII.

ST PAUL'S PROPHECY OF THE APOSTASY OF THE LATTER TIMES.

ST Paul was a man of lively thought and strong imagination. None of the apostles had a warmer zeal for Christ, and the Christian religion. He was, as he saith himself, 2 Cor. xi. 23, 28, 29. ' in labours more abundant ; ' he had ' the care of all the churches ; Who is weak, ' saith he, ' and I am not weak ? who is offended and I burn not ? ' It was natural for such a mind to be deeply affected with the foresight of the great apostasy of Christians from the

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the true Christian faith and worship, and to lament it, and to forewarn his disciples of it, as often as there was occasion. He made this apostasy one topic of his discourse to the Thessalonians, while he was yet with them; and afterwards in his second Epistle to them, he gave them to understand that, 'the day of Christ was not at hand,' as they apprehended; 'for there should come the apostasy first,' implying that it should be both extensive and of long duration. He mentions this apostasy again in his first Epistle to Timothy, and describes more particularly wherein it should consist, and at what time, and by what means it should be propagated and advanced in the world; 1 Tim. iv. 1—5. 'Now the Spirit speaketh expressly, that in the latter times some shall depart from the faith, giving heed to seducing spirits, and doctrines of devils, speaking lies in hypocrisy, having their conscience seared as with a hot iron; Forbidding to marry, and commanding to abstain from meats which God hath created to be received with thanksgiving of them who believe and know the truth.' The passage perhaps may better be translated thus, 'But the Spirit speaketh expressly;' He had been speaking before of 'the mystery of godliness,' and now he proceeds to speak of 'the mystery of iniquity' in opposition to it. 'But the Spirit speaketh expressly, that in the latter times some shall apostatize from the faith, giving heed to erroneous spirits and doctrines concerning demons. Through the hypocrisy of liars, having their conscience seared with a hot iron, Forbidding to marry, and commanding to abstain from meats, which God hath created to be received with thanksgiving by the believers and them who know the truth.' This translation will be justified by the following considerations, wherein it is proposed to shew the true interpretation and exact completion of this prophecy. But this subject hath been so fully and learnedly discussed by the excellent * Mr Mede, that we must be greatly obliged to him in the course of this dissertation. The dress and clothing may be somewhat different, but the body and substance must be much the same: and they must be referred to his works, who are desirous of obtaining farther satisfaction. Not that

* See Mede's Works, B. 3. p. 623—693. See likewise Mons. Juven's Accomplishment of the prophecies. Part. I. Chap. 18—27.

we would make a transcript only of any writer; we should hope to enforce and improve the subject by some new arguments and new illustrations; as 'every scribe instructed unto the kingdom of heaven,' Matt. xiii. 52. 'is like unto a man that is an householder, who bringeth forth out of his treasure things new as well as old.'

I. The first thing to be considered is the apostasy here predicted, 'Some shall depart' or rather 'shall apostatize from the faith.' The apostle had predicted the same thing before to the Thessalonians, 'The day of Christ shall not come, except there come a falling away or rather the apostasy first. In the original the words are of the same import and derivation, *αποστασία* and *αποσησολαι*, and they should have been translated both alike, as the same thing was intended in both places. An 'apostasy from the faith' may be total or partial, either when we renounce the whole, or when we deny some principal and essential article of it. The writers of the New Testament frequently derive their language as well as their ideas from the Old: and by considering what was accounted apostasy under the Mosaical œconomy, we may form the better notion of what it is under the Christian dispensation. It doth not appear that the Jews or Israelites ever totally renounced and abandoned the living and true God; he never ceased altogether to be their God, or they to be his people; but they revolted from their allegiance to God, when they worshipped him in an image, as in the golden calves, which was the sin and apostasy of Jeroboam; and when they worshipped other gods besides him, as Baalim and the host of heaven, which was the sin and apostasy of Ahab and Manasseh; and for the same reason the idolatry of Ahaz is by the Greek interpreters called, 2 Chron. xxix. 19. *αποστασια αυτου* 'his apostasy,' and it is said of him, xxviii. 19. that *αποστη αποστασεν απο του Κυριου* 'he apostatized greatly from the Lord.' Apostasy therefore was idolatry in the Jewish church, and it is the same in the Christian. This argument may receive some illustration from a * similar passage in St Peter; 2 Pet. ii. 1. 'There were false prophets also among the people, even as there shall be false teachers among you, who privily shall bring in damnable heresies, even denying the Lord that bought them.'

* See Mede's Discourse XLIII. upon this text, p. 238, &c.

them.' As there were false prophets among the children of Israel, who seduced them to idolatry and the worshipping of other Gods besides the true God; so there shall be false teachers among Christians, who by plausible pretences and imperceptible degrees shall bring in the like damnable heresies, even denying the Lord that bought them, professing themselves to be his servants bought with a price, and yet denying him to be their lord and master by applying to other lords and mediators. It is not any error, or every heresy, that is apostasy from the faith. It is a revolt in the principal and essential article, when we worship God by any image or representation, or when we worship other beings besides God, and pray unto other mediators besides 'the one Mediator between God and men, the man Christ Jesus.' This is the very essence of Christian worship, to worship the one true God through the one true Christ; and to worship any other God or any other Mediator, is apostasy and rebellion against God and against Christ. It is, as St Paul saith, Col. ii. 19. 'not holding the head,' but depending upon other heads: It is, as St Peter expresseth it, 'denying the Lord that bought us,' and serving other lords: and the denial of such an essential part may as properly be called *apostasy*, as if we were to renounce the whole Christian faith and worship. It is renouncing them in effect, and not treating and regarding God as God, or Christ as Christ.

Such is the nature of 'apostasy from the faith;' and it is implied that this apostasy should be general, and infect great numbers. For though it be said only 'Some shall apostatize,' yet by *some* in this place *many* are understood. The word *some* may usually denote *few* in English; but in the learned languages it frequently signifies a multitude, and there are abundant instances in scripture. In St John's Gospel it is said, vi. 60. that 'Many of Jesus his disciples, when they had heard this, said, This is an hard saying, who can hear it?' and again a little afterwards, ver. 66. 'Many of his disciples went back, and walked no more with him;' but Jesus himself speaking of these *many* saith, ver. 64. 'There are some of you that believe not;' so that *some* are plainly the same as *many*. St Paul speaking of the infidelity and rejection of

of the Jews faith, Rom. xi. 17. that 'some of the branches are broken off: but those *some*, it was evident, were the main body of the nation. The same apostle informs the Corinthians, 1 Cor. x. 5, 6. that 'With many of the Israelites God was not well pleased; for they were overthrown in the wilderness:' and their punishments were intended for examples to Christians. Wherefore he concludes, ver. 7. 'Neither be ye idolaters, as were some of them; as it is written, The people sat down to eat and drink, and rose up to play: where *some* are manifestly the same as *the people*. Again, ver. 8. 'Neither let us commit fornication, as some of them committed, and fell in one day three and twenty thousand:' where *some* are equivalent to *many thousands*. Again ver. 9. 'Neither let us tempt Christ, as some of them also tempted, and were destroyed of serpents:' where *some* are the same with *much people*; for we read, Numb. xxi. 6. that 'the Lord sent fiery serpents among the people; and they bit the people, and much people of Israel died.' And again, ver. 10. 'Neither murmur ye, as some of them also murmured, and were destroyed of the destroyer; where *some* are the same with *all the congregation* except Joshua and Caleb; for we read, Numb. xiv. 1, 2. that 'all the congregation lifted up their voice, and cried; and the people wept that night:' And all the children of Israel murmured against Moses, and against Aaron; and the whole congregation said unto them, Would God that we had died in the land of Egypt, or would God we had died in this wilderness:' and they had their wish, for except Joshua and Caleb, they all died in the wilderness. *Some* therefore may signify *many*, but *not all*; as the apostle speaketh elsewhere, Heb. iii. 16. 'For some when they had heard, did provoke; howbeit not all that came out of Egypt by Moses. The apostle might have the same meaning in this place; and the apostasy may be general and extensive, and include *many* but *not all*. If only some few persons were to be concerned and engaged in it, it was scarcely an object worthy of prophecy: nor could that prophecy be pointed out as a peculiarity of 'the latter times,' which is common at all times, for in all times there are some apostates or other. It must necessarily be a great apostasy; and it is called as it hath been shewn,

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'the apostasy' by way of eminence and distinction; but it would hardly have been distinguished in this emphatical manner, if only an inconsiderable number were to profess and embrace it. Other prophecies likewise intimate, that there should be a great and general corruption and apostasy in the Christian church; and the event will also confirm us in our opinion. For we have seen and still see a greater part of Christendom guilty of the same sort of apostasy and defection as the Israelites were in former times. As the Israelites worshipped God in the golden calf and golden calves; for, Exod. xxxii. 5. they proclaimed 'a feast to the Lord,' and said, ver. 4. and 1 Kings xii. 28. 'Behold thy Gods, O Israel, which brought thee up out of the land of Egypt:' so there are Christians who worship their Creator and Redeemer in an image, or in a crucifix, or in the sacramental bread. As the Israelites worshipped Baalim or departed heroes, and as the Psalmist saith, Psal. cvi. 28. 'ate the sacrifices of the dead:' so there are Christians who worship departed saints, and institute fasts and festivals, and offer up prayers and praises unto them. And as this apostasy overspread the church of Israel for many ages, so hath it for many ages too overspread the church of Christ. The apostasy therefore is the very same in both churches. The apostle foresaw and foretold it; and upon the mention of Israel's provocation, very properly admonished the Christians to beware of the like infidelity and apostasy, Heb. iii. 12. 'Take heed, brethren, lest there be in any of you an evil heart of unbelief, in departing, *in te apostatantes,* 'in apostatizing from the living God.'

II. It is more particularly shewn, wherein this apostasy should consist, in the following words, 'giving heed to seducing spirits and doctrines of devils, *or rather giving heed to erroneous spirits and doctrines concerning demons.*' For I conceive not the meaning to be, that this apostasy should proceed from the suggestion of evil spirits and instigation of devils. That would be no peculiar mark of distinction; that might be said of any wickedness in general, as well as of this in particular. The means too by which this apostasy should be propagated, and the persons who should propagate it, are described

cried afterwards; so that this part is to be understood rather of things than of persons, rather of the matter wherein this apostasy should consist, than of the first teachers and authors of it. *Spirits* seem to be much the same in sense as *doctrines*, as Mr Mede and other divines have observed the same word to be used only by St John, 1 John iv. 1. 'Beloved, believe not every spirit,' that is every doctrine, 'but try the spirits,' that is the doctrines, 'whether they are of God; because many false prophets are gone out into the world.' *Spirits* and *doctrines* therefore may be considered, the latter word as explanatory of the former: and *error* sometimes signifying * 'idolatry, erroneous doctrines' may comprehend *idolatrous*, as well as *false* doctrines. But it is still farther added for explanation, that these doctrines should be 'doctrines of devils or of demons;' where the genitive case is not to be taken actively, as if demons were the authors of these doctrines, but passively, as if demons were the subject of those doctrines. Thus 'a doctrine of vanities (*διδασκαλία ματαιων* Jer. x. 8.) is a doctrine concerning vanities or idols. 'The doctrine of the Lord' (*διδασκη το Κυριου* Acts xiii. 12.) is the doctrine concerning him: 'Then the deputy when he saw what was done, believed, being astonished at the doctrine of the Lord. The doctrines of baptisms (*διδασκαι βαπτισμων* Heb. vi. 2.) 'and of laying on of hands, and of resurrection of the dead, and of eternal judgment,' are doctrines relating to all these particulars. And by the same construction, *διδασκαλαι δαιμονιων* 'doctrines of demons' are doctrines about and concerning demons. This is therefore a prophecy that the idolatrous theology of demons professed by the Gentiles should be revived among Christians. Christians should in process of time degenerate, and resemble the Gentiles as well as the apostate Jews. They should not only apostatize after the manner of the Jews, but should also 'worship demons' after the manner of the Gentiles.

Demons, according to the theology of the Gentiles, were middle powers between the sovereign Gods and mortal men. So saith Plato, the most competent judge and

Vol. II.

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κηρυξαι et ημεναι. c. πλανη. Chaldaica et Targumistica est idol-
um; et ημεναι πλανηται est idola colere et adorari. Rom. i. 23. * 2^a Thess.
2. Pet. ii. 18. Mede, p. 626.

the most consummate writer in these subjects ; * “ Every demon is a middle being between God and mortal man.” These demons were regarded as mediators and agents between the gods and men. So saith Plato again, † “ God is not approached by man, but all the commerce and intercourse between gods and men is by the mediation of demons. The demons, saith he, are interpreters and conveyers from men to the gods, and from the gods to men, of the supplications and sacrifices on the one part, and of the commands and rewards of sacrifices on the other.” Apuleius, a later philosopher, giveth ‡ the like description. “ Demons are middle powers, by whom both our desires and desires pass unto the gods ; they are carriers between men on earth and the gods in heaven ; hence of prayers, thence of gifts ; they convey to and fro, hence petitions, thence supplies ; or they are interpreters on both sides, and bearers of salutations ; for it would not be, saith he, for the majesty of the celestial gods to take care of these things.” The whole is summed up by the said Apuleius § in few words. “ All things are done by the will, power, and authority of the celestial gods, but by the obedience, service, and ministry of the demons.” Of these demons there were accounted two kinds. One kind of demons were the souls of men deified or canonized after death. So Hesiod, one of

* *Και γὰρ πᾶν τὸ διακείμενον μεταξὺ τῆς θεότητος καὶ θνητότητας.* Omnia enim demonum natura inter deum et mortale est intermedia. Platonis Sympol. p. 202. Tom. 3. Edus. Serrani.

† *Θεὸς δὲ ἀμιχρῶν ἢ μίχεται, ἀλλὰ διὰ τῆς αὐτῆς φύσεως ἐν ἡμῶν καὶ ἡμιθεῶν φύσει πᾶσι συνέχεται.* Deus autem cum homine non miscetur, sed per hanc demonum naturam commercium omne atque colloquium inter deos hominesque conficitur. *Εὐνοίας καὶ διαπραγματιῶν θεῶν ἐκ τῶν δαίμονων, καὶ ἀνταποδοτῶν τῶν τῶν θεῶν, τῶν καὶ τῶν θεῶν καὶ θνητῶν, τῶν καὶ τῶν θνητῶν, ἐκ καὶ ἀποδοτῶν τῶν τῶν θεῶν.* Interpretis et portitoris quafi munere fungitur, ut res humana ad deos, deique ad homines transmittat : horum quidem preces et sacrificia, illorum vero precepta et sacrificiorum remunerationes. Ibid. p. 202, 203.

‡ Media potestate, per quas et desideria nostra et merita ad deos committunt, inter terribiles collectiones accedunt, hinc preces, inde donorum, qui ultra ceterosque preces et petitiones, seu quidem utriusque inter preces et salutes geri.

§ *Ἐπεὶ οὖν μακροτέρως θεῶν ἐκείνων ἐστὶν, ἡμεῖς curare.*

De Deo Socrate, p. 674, 675. Edus. Duple.

¶ celestium voluntate, numere, et auctoritate, sed demonum quoque, et opera, et ministerio fieri archetypum est, ib. p. 675.

of the most ancient heathen writers, if not the most ancient, describing that happy race of men, who lived in the first and golden age of the world, * saith that, "after this generation were dead, they were by the will of great Jupiter promoted to by demons, keepers of mortal men, observers of their good and evil works, givers of riches, &c. and this, saith he, is the royal honour that they enjoy." Plato concurs with Hesiod, and † asserts that "he and many other poets speak excellently, who affirm that when good men die, they attain great honour and dignity, and become demons." The same Plato in another place ‡ "maintains, that all who die valiantly in war are of Hesiod's golden generation, and are made demons; and we ought for ever afterwards to serve and adore their sepulchres, as the sepulchres of demons. The same also we decree, whenever any of those, who were judged excellently good in life, die either of old age, or in any o-

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* Αυταρ εστι μιν τῶτε γινῆς πατὴρ γῆρας καλὸν ἔσθι,
Τοι μιν δαίμονες εἰσι, Διὸς μεγάλῃ διαβύλας,
Ἑέλλοι, ἐπιχθόνιοι, (ἐλίζιμανοι) φυλακῆς θνητῶν ἀνθρώπων,
Ὅι καὶ φυλάσσεισι σὶ δίκας καὶ σχιτλία ἔργα,
Ἥερα ἰσοκρίμοι, πάντῃ φαίνοντες ἐν' αἰῶνι,
Πλάττονται καὶ πατρὶ γένεθ' βασιλῆιον ἔργον.

Verum postquam hoc genus terra abscondit,
Ii quidem divi facti sunt, Jovis magni consilio.
Boni, in terris versantis, custodes mortalium hominum:
Qui quidem observant judicja et prava opera,
Caligine amicti, passim cunctes per terram,
Opum datores: a que hoc munus regale consecuti sunt.

Hesiod. Op. et Dies. Lib. I. 120.

† Λογέειν καλὰς καὶ ἔσθας καὶ ἄλλοι πρῶτοι· πολλοὶ, ἐνὶ δαίμονας, οἱ ἐπα-
δαι τις ἀγαθὸς ἐν τιλινότητι, μεγάλῃ μισῶν καὶ τῶν ἐργῶν καὶ γινταὶ δα-
μων. Præclare igitur et hic et alii poetæ, quicunque affirmant
eum qui bonus sit, ubi mortuus fuerit, magnæ cupiditatis sortis
consequi dignitatem, et dæmonia esse. Platonis Cratylus, p. 398.
Tom. I. Edit. Septima.

‡ Τὰς δὲ καὶ ἀποθανόντας ἐπὶ γένονται, οἱ ἐν ἰουδαϊσμοῦ τιλινότητι, ἀφ' ἧ
πρῶτον μὲν φησὶται τὴν γῆν γινῆς εἶναι; Πάντων γὰρ καλίστη. Ἀλλ' ἡ πρῶ-
τα μὲν Πλάτων· ὁποῖός τις ἐν τούτῳ γινῆς τιλινότησιν, ὡς καὶ.

Οἱ μὲν δαίμονες·

καὶ τὸν λόγον τὴν γῆν καὶ δαίμονας, καὶ διακρίνεται τὴ καὶ ἀποθανόν-
των αὐτῶν τὴν γῆν. τούτῳ δὲ τούτῳ κενὸν ὅτι τις γῆν ἢ κενὸν ἄλλο
πρῶτον τιλινότητι τὴν δὲ τὴν διακρίνεται ἐν τῇ βίῳ ἀγαθῇ καὶ κατὰ
vero qui re præclare gesta in bello occubuerit, nonne dicemus ei
genus aureum pertinere. Maxime omnium. Nonne Hesiodi Gen-
tentiā sequemur? quod videlicet illi homines, qui ex primo illi
fuerint genere, ubi primum facti concesserint.

Dæmones.

rules, as St Austin * observes, we never read of good demons; but wheresoever in those writings the name of demon occurs, none but evil spirits are meant: and it must be confessed and allowed, that this is the most usual signification of the word; but some instances may be alledged to the contrary. When St Paul was at Athens, and preached the gospel in that city, 'certain philosophers of the Epicureans and of the Stoics encountered him,' Acts xvii. 18. and charged him with being a 'setter forth of strange gods' *ἐταρ δαιμονίων* 'of strange demons, because he preached unto them Jesus and the resurrection.' Here *demons* cannot possibly signify *devils*, but must necessarily refer to Jesus, who according to St Paul's preaching, ver. 31. was 'raised from the dead,' and appointed to be lord and judge of the world. At the same time the apostle retorts the charge upon the Athenians, ver. 22. 'Ye men of Athens, I perceive that in all things ye are too superstitious, *διδωδαιμονιστῆς*, too much addicted to the worship of demons:' and they worshipped demons or dead men deified in abundance? but he declared unto them, ver. 24. 'God who made the world; and all things therein.' St Paul in his first Epistle thus exhorts the Corinthians, 1 Cor. x. 14, 20, 21. 'Flee from idolatry. The things which the Gentiles sacrifice, they sacrifice to devils, *δαιμονίοις* to demons, and not to God: and I would not that ye should have fellowship with devils *δαιμονίων*, demons, Ye cannot drink the cup of the Lord, and the cup of devils, *δαιμονίων*, of demons; Ye cannot be partakers of the Lord's table, and of the table of devils, *δαιμονίων*, of demons.' The apostle is here shewing the great inconsistency of the Christian worship with the idolatrous worship performed by the Heathens. The Heathens worshipped Jupiter, Apollo, Venus, and numberless other beings, who were reputed demons, but who were properly deceased men and women deified. Corinth in particular † was much devoted to the worship of Venus; there she had a most magnificent temple and service; and the city was called the city of Venus. The apostle therefore declares that all

* — nunquam vero bonos daemones legimus: sed ubicunque illarum litterarum hoc nomen positum reperitur, sine daemone, sine daemone dicantur, non nisi maligni significantur spiritus. August. de Civitat. Dei lib. 8. cap. 19. col. 178. tom. 7. Ed. Rom. Anst.

† Strabo. Lib. 2. et Euripides apud Strabonem. p. 178. 179. Edit. Paris. 1620. p. 581, 582. Edit. Amster. 1707.

all such worship is utterly inconsistent with the true worship of Christ. For that would be acknowledging him for their only Lord, and at the same time acknowledging other lords. And v. 22. 'do we provoke the Lord to jealousy; are we stronger than he?' These passages, together with the text that we are considering, are, I think, all the places in St Paul's discourses or Epistles, where the word *demon* occurs: and as he was of all the apostles the most learned in the philosophy and theology of the Gentiles, and as he was speaking and writing to Gentiles, that might be the reason of his adopting the same notion of demons. He had plainly alluded to this notion a little before in the same Epistle to the Corinthians, 1 Cor. viii. 4—6. and the passage cannot be so well understood without it. There is none other God but one. For though there be that are called gods, whether in heaven or in earth; whether *Dei caelestes*, 'celestial gods,' as they are usually denominated, or *δαίμονες ἐπιχθόνιοι*, 'earthly demons,' as they are named by Hesiod, mediators and agents between heaven and earth: 'as there be gods many and lords many:' as the Gentiles acknowledge a plurality of such superior and inferior deities; 'But to us *Christians* there is but one God the Father, of whom are all things, and we in him,' *ἐν αὐτῷ*, 'we to him' are to direct all our services; 'and one Lord Jesus Christ, by whom are all things, and we by him,' *δι' αὐτοῦ*, 'we by or through him' alone have access unto the Father. They have a multitude of gods and lords, but we have only one of each sort. It is the same doctrine that he inculcates likewise in his first Epistle to Timothy, ii. 5. 'For there is one God, and one Mediator between God and men, the man Christ Jesus.' As St Paul here foretels that Christians in the latter times should attend to 'doctrines concerning demons,' so St John also foretels, Rev. ix. 20. that notwithstanding the plagues of the Arabian locusts and of the Euphratean horsemen, 'yet they should not repent of the works of their hands, that they should not worship devils,' *δαίμονα*, *demons*, where the word is plainly used in the same sense as by St Paul: for Christians never actually worshipped devils, but they worshipped *demons*, deities, men and women and angels, and idols of gold and silver, and brass, and stone, and of wood, which

neither can see, hear, nor walk ;' and they still continue to worship them, notwithstanding the grievous calamities inflicted on the Christian church by the Saracens first, and by the Turks afterwards, as we shall see in the proper place.

There is a passage in Epiphanius, which will very much illustrate and confirm our explanation of St Paul. That father, who was very zealous against the worship of saints and images, which was then springing up in the church, loudly complains of some Arabian Christians, who made a goddess of the blessed virgin, and offered a cake to her as to the queen of heaven. He condemns their heresy as impious and abominable, and declares, that "upon these also is fulfilled that of the apostle, *Some shall apostatize from the sound doctrine, giving heed to fables and doctrines of demons; so they shall be, with the apostle, worshippers of the dead, as in Israel also they were worshipped,*" meaning the Baalim and Ashtaroth who were worshipped by the children of Israel. It is observable that he explains, as well as recites the words of the apostle. He expounds 'the faith by the sound doctrine, erroneous spirits by fables, and doctrines of demon, by worshipping of the dead; and to shew more particularly what he meant, he subjoins two examples more of such worship. one of the Schemites, who had a goddess under the title of Jephtha's daughter; and the other of the Egyptians, who worshipped Themitis, that daughter of Pharaoh, who was at the charge of educating Moses. Now whether this latter clause, 'For there shall be worshippers of the dead, as in Israel also they were worshipped,' be genuine or not, it may serve our purpose in some measure either way. If it was the original text of St Paul, as † Beza, and more particularly Mr Mann contend, then the point that we have been proving is established beyond all possible contradiction. If it was only a marginal reading added by way of explanation,

* *ἡλικται γὰρ καὶ αἱ ψυχαὶ το, ἀποστρέφονται οὐκ ἐπὶ τῇ ἁγίᾳ διδασκαλίᾳ, πρὸς ἄλλας μύθους καὶ διδασκαλίας δαιμονίων, εὐσεβεῖ γὰρ, φασὶν οἱ πατέρες λατρεύοντες, οἱ καὶ ἐν Ἰσραὴλ εὐσεβεύοντες. Hoc enim in ipsis impletur; Deficient quidam a sana doctrina, intendentes fabulis, et doctrinis daemoniorum; erunt enim inquit, moruos dolantes, quem admodum apud Israelitas honore sunt affecti. Epiphanius advers. Hæc. 78. p. 1035. Tom. 1. Edit. Petav.*

† Beza in locum. Mr Mann's Critical Notes on some passages of Scripture, p. 92.—103.

plication, as * Mr Mede and Dr Mill suppose, it still convinces that Epiphanius, and some before his time, understood the passage in the same manner that we have explained it. The apostle delivers the prophecy as a *plain* and *express* one: and it cannot be denied, that the passage is much improved, and the sense is made much clearer by this addition. Epiphanius too recites this addition, as the very words of the apostle: and a man of his character for probity and piety would not be guilty of forging such a testimony. If it be not quoted by other fathers nor appear in other copies, it is probable that the fathers, who began this worship very early, would not be forward to produce a text to their own conviction, and confusion; and it is possible that when this worship prevailed almost universally, a text which so plainly condemned it, might be wholly omitted as in latter times, for the same reason, we have seen † in some catechisms and manuals of devotion, the second left out of the ten commandments, and the tenth divided into two to make up the number. It ought not indeed to be concealed, that Clemens Alexandrinus, a celebrated father and writer of the second century, hath ‡ cited this passage of St Paul just as it appears in our present copies, which is a considerable argument in support of the common reading. But possibly the same persons who left the words in question out of St Paul, might also leave them out of Clemens Alexandrinus;

* Mede's Works, p. 637. MH. in locum.

† Bishop Stillingfleet in his *Doctrines and Practices of the Church of Rome*, in answer to the author of *A Papist misrepresented and misrepresented*, treating of the second commandment, says, "The dispute about this is not whether the second commandment may be found in any of their books, but by what authority it comes to be left out in any; as he confesses it is in their first catechisms and manuals; but not only in these, for I have now before me the reformed Office of the Blessed Virgin printed at Salamanca, A. D. 1588, published by order of Pius V. where it is so left out; and so in the English Office at Antwerp A. D. 1580, which he had told us in the public Office of their church it is to be found." Stillingfleet's Works Vol. 4. p. 572. See also Ambrosius Theatrum Terrena Sanctorum, p. 212. et 400. where the ten commandments are thus ranged and divided: 1. Se Deum unum colant, idolis reprobis. 2. Vana vanum in vanum ne assument. 3. Sabbata sanctificent. 4. Parentes honorant. 5. Non occidunt. 6. Non Mactentur. 7. Non fornicant. 8. Falsè ne testentur. 9. Non concupiscant proximi uxorem suam. 10. Non rem suam quamcumque.

Epiphanus; and they might have struck them out of Epiphanus too, if they had been equally aware of them, or if the thing had been equally practicable, and the context would have suffered it without the most palable discovery of the fraud. Upon the whole it may be concluded concerning this passage in Epiphanus, that if it does not exhibit the genuine reading, yet at least it establisheth the genuine sense and meaning of the text of St Paul.

It appears then that 'the doctrines of demons,' which prevailed so long in the Heathen world, should be revived and established in the Christian church: and is not the worship of saints and angels now in all respects the same that the worship of demons was in former times? The name only is different, the thing is identically the same. The Heathens, as we see, looked upon their demons as mediators and intercessors between God and men; and are not the saints and angels regarded in the same light by many professed Christians? Some tendency to the worshipping angels was observed even in the apostle's time, insomuch that he thought proper to give this caution to the Colossians, ii. 18. 'Let no man beguile you of your reward, in a voluntary humility and worshipping of angels: and this admonition, we may suppose, checked and suppressed this worship for some generations. The worshipping of the dead was not introduced so early into the church; it was advanced by slower degrees; and what was at first nothing more than a pious and decent respect to the memory of saints and martyrs, degenerated at last into an impious and idolatrous adoration. At first † annual festivals were instituted to their honour; the next step was praying in the cemeteries at their sepulchres; then their bodies were translated into churches; then a power of working miracles was attributed to their dead bodies, bones, and other relics; then their wonder-working relics were conveyed from place to place, and distributed among the other churches; then they were invoked and adored for performing such miracles, for assisting men in their devotions, and interceding for them with God: and not only the churches, but even

* Clem. Alex. Stromat. Lib. 3. p. 350. Edit. Potter.

† See these particulars historically deduced in Sir Isaac Newton's Observations on Daniel, Chap. 14. p. 108—131.

even the fields and highways were filled with altars for invoking them.

As early as the time of Constantine, the first Christian emperor we find Eusebius, one of the best and most learned of the fathers, quoting and approving Hesiod's and Plato's notions before mentioned concerning demons, and then * adding "These things are besitting upon the decease of the favourites of God, whom you may properly call the champions of the true religion: Whence it is our custom to assemble at their sepulchres, and to make our prayers at them, and to honour their blessed souls." Here Eusebius compares the saints and martyrs with the demons of the Gentiles, and esteems them worthy of the same honour. The famous Antony, who was one of the great founders of monkery, gave it in charge † to the monks with his dying breath, "To take care and adhere to Christ in the first place, and then to the saints, that after death they may receive you as friends and acquaintance into the everlasting tabernacles." His advice was but too well followed; and the emperor Julian ‡ reproacheth the Christians for adding many new dead men to the ancient dead man, Jesus. All the fathers almost of the fourth and fifth centuries contributed too much to the support and propagation of this superstition: and Theodoret in particular, having cited the same passages of Hesiod and Plato, § reasons thus, "If then the

* Καὶ ταῦτα δὲ ἀρροῦσι τῇ τῶν Διοφύλων τελειῇ ὡς τρανιότης τῆς αἰσῆς ἐκείνης ὡς ἐν

† mortui ubique appellaris.

‡ mortui ubique appellaris.

§ mortui ubique appellaris.

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the poet hath called good men, after their decease, the deliverers and guardians of mortal men; and the best of philosophers hath confirmed the poet's saying, and asserted that, we ought to serve and adore their sepulchres; why I beseech you Sirs (speaking to the Greeks) do you blame these things which are done by us? for such as were illustrious for piety, and for the sake thereof received martyrdom, we also name deliverers and physicians, not calling them demons, (let us not be so desperately mad) but the friends and sincere servants of God." Here Theodoret plainly allows the thing, and only disapproves the name. Again he * saith in the same exalted strain concerning the martyrs, " They who are well pray for the continuance of health, and they who have been long sick pray for recovery; the barren also pray for children, and they who are to make a long journey desire them to be their companions and guides in the way: and not going to them as Gods, but applying to them as to divine men, and beseeching them to become intercessors for them with God." Nay he saith † " that the martyrs have

ἡ δὲ ταῦτα τοὺς λόγους τοὺς φιλόσοφους ὁ ἀρεῖας καὶ χρηματίζῃ καὶ διακρίνων
 πύτων καὶ παρακλῶνται τοὺς ἄνθρωποι· τί δὲ ταῦτα μαρτυρεῖ τοῖς παρ' ἡμῶν γινόμενοις
 ὡς βελτίστοις, οὗτοι γὰρ ἐν τοῖς τοῖς λαμβάνουσιν· καὶ ὅτι ταῦτα ἐν τῇ σφαίρᾳ
 ἴσως λυτῶσιν αὐτοὺς. ἀλλὰ διὰ φίλους καὶ ἰουνοὺς διακρίνοντας· Quod si poenit,
 et bonum, et malorum depulsores, et custodes mortalium vocavit eos
 qui optime vixerunt, deinde mortuifunt; ejusque sententiam philo-
 sophorum præstantissimus confirmavit atque horum sepulcra cole-
 d, et adoranda censuit, quæ a nobis fiunt, optimi viri, cur damna-
 tis? Nos enim pariter, eos qui pietate claruerunt proque eis facti
 sunt, malorum depulsores, et medicos nominamus, damonibus non
 appellamus, (absit a nobis hic furor), sed Dei amicos, servosque be-
 nivolos. Theod. Sermon. 8. De Martyribus, p. 602. Tom. 4. Edit. Pa-
 ris. 1624.

οὐ μὲν ὁρῶντες, αἰσθεὶς τῆς ὁσμῆς τοῦ θυμῶν· ἢ δὲ εἴη κατὰ φύσιν
 οὐκ ὄντως, τὴν τῶν περὶ ἡμᾶς ἀποκαλλόντων· αἰσθεὶς δὲ καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ πάλαι—καὶ ἢ
 μὴ καὶ τοιαυτοῦτοί τινες ἔσονται· λυγροὶ καὶ εὐνοῦργοι γὰρ οὗτοι καὶ
 τοῦ τοῦ θυμῶντος—καὶ ἢ οὕτως αὐτοὺς περιμένει, καὶ ἢ οὕτως καὶ οὐκ
 αἰσθάνονται, καὶ γὰρ οὕτως περιμένει καὶ οὕτως περιμένει. Quia
 segra sunt valetudine, hanc sibi conservari, qui autem murebo
 piam conficiuntur, hanc depelli petunt. Perunt et liberos qui
 carent—qui peregrinationem aliquam auspiciantur, ad his petunt
 ut vias sibi comites sint, quosque itineris—non illos adveniens
 deos, sed tanquam divinos homines eos orantes, intercedunt
 sibi ut esse velint postulant. Ibid. p. 605. 606.

Там у нас много что почитать. Там же можно и по-
дальше ходить. — Ты, у нас много что почитать можно!

have blotted out of the minds of men the memory of those who were called Gods. For our Lord hath brought his dead into the place of your Gods, whom he hath utterly abolished, and hath given their honour to the martyrs: for instead of the feasts of Jupiter and of Bacchus we now celebrated the festivals of Peter, and Paul, and Thomas and the other martyrs. Wherefore seeing the advantage of honouring the martyrs, fly, O friends; from the error of the demons; and using the martyrs as lights and guides, pursue the way which leadeth directly to God." Here are the doctrines of demons' evidently revived, only the name is altered, and the saints are substituted for demons, the Divi or deified men of the Christians for the Divi or deified men of the Heathens.

The promoters of this worship were sensible that it was the same, and that the one succeeded to the other; and as the worship is the same, so likewise is it performed with the same ceremonies, whether these ceremonies were derived from the same source of superstition common to the whole race of mankind, or were the direct copies of one another. The * burning of incense or perfumes on several altars at one and the same time; the sprinkling of holy water, or a mixture of salt and common water at going into and coming out of places of public worship; the lighting up of a great number of lamps and wax-candles, in broad day-light, before the altars and statues

Ἰησοῦ καὶ τῶν μὲν θανάτου παύσασθαι, τῶν δὲ τὰ ἐκείνους αὐτῶν μὲν γὰρ. ἀν-
τιπρὸς δὲ τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις καὶ ἑσπερίαις. — Πέτρον, καὶ Παῦλον, καὶ Θωμᾶ, —
καὶ τῶν ἄλλων μαρτύρων, ἐκτελεσθέντων δημοδοῦναι. — Ἰστορεῖται γὰρ τοῦ τοῦ
μαρτύρου θανάτου ἐκτελεσθέντων θανάτου. — Ἰστορεῖται γὰρ τοῦ τοῦ θανάτου, καὶ
τῶν τοῦ θανάτου καὶ τῶν τοῦ θανάτου τῶν τοῦ θανάτου τῶν τοῦ θανάτου τῶν τοῦ θανάτου
— cum eorum de quo qui patitur sui secebantur, memoriam e-
mente hominum adhibere. — Ipsi enim mortuus dominus deus
nostrum in templo pro deo secebantur, et hoc eadem castas van-
tatis reddidit, huiusmodi memoriam mortuus adhibere. — Pro Panth-
onis ac Dionysii — Petri, et Pauli, et Thomæ — mortuus marty-
rum secebantur peraguntur — cum igitur de mortuus martyribus
adhibere quid utilitatis peraguntur mortuus adhibere, et hoc eadem er-
rorem peraguntur mortuus adhibere, et hoc eadem er-
rorem peraguntur. Ibid. p. 206, 207.

The reader may see this conformity between popery and paga-
nism by Dr Henry More in his second part of the
Essay, B. I. Chap. 17. by Dr Middleton in his Letter
Mr Steward in his Dissertation on the Conformity
and Idolatry, and other learned and ingenious

statues of their deities; the hanging up of votive offerings and rich presents as attestations of so many miraculous cures and deliverances from diseases and dangers; the canonization or deification of diseased worthies; the assigning of distinct provinces or prefectures to departed heroes and saints; the worshipping and adoring of the dead in their sepulchres, shrines, and relics; the consecrating and bowing down to images; the attributing of miraculous powers and virtues to idols; the setting up of little oratories, altars and statues in the streets and highways, and on the tops of mountains; the carrying of images and relics in pompous processions with numerous lights, and with music and singing; flagellations at solemn seasons, under the notion of penance; the making a sanctuary of temples and churches: a great variety of religious orders and fraternities of priests; the shaving of priests, or the tonsure, as it is called, on the crown of their heads; the imposing of celibacy and vows of chastity on the religious of both sexes; all these and many more rites and ceremonies are equally parts of Pagan and of Popish superstition. Nay the very same temples, the very same altars, the very same images, which once were consecrated to Jupiter and the other demons, are now re-consecrated to the Virgin Mary, and the other saints. The very same titles and inscriptions are ascribed to both; the very same prodigies and miracles are related of these as of those. In short the whole almost of Paganism is converted and applied to Popery; the one is manifestly formed upon the same plan and principles as the other; so that there is not only a conformity, but even an uniformity in the worship of ancient and modern, of Heathen and Christian Rome.

III. Such an apostacy as this of reviving 'the doctrines of demons' and worshipping the dead, was not likely to succeed and take place immediately; it should prevail and prosper 'in the latter times.' The phrase of 'the latter times or days, or the last times or days,' as it hath been observed upon * a former occasion, signifies any time yet to come; but denotes more particularly the times of Christianity. So we find it used by some of the ancient prophets, as for example Isaiah, Micah, and Joel. I.

Vol. II.

A a

* In Dissertation IV.

Isaiah, ii. 2. 'And it shall come to pass in the last days that the mountain of the Lord's house shall be established in the top of the mountains, and shall be exalted above the hills: and all nations shall flow unto it.' Micah to the same purpose, and almost in the same words, iv. 1. 'But in the last days it shall come to pass, that the mountain of the house of the Lord shall be established in the top of the mountains, and it shall be exalted above the hills, and people shall flow unto it.' And Joel, as he is quoted by St Peter, Acts ii. 16, 17. 'But this is that which was spoken by the prophet Joel; And it shall come to pass in the last days (saith God) I will pour out of my Spirit upon all flesh.' The times of Christianity may properly be called 'the latter times or days, or the last times or days,' because it is the last of all God's revelations to mankind. Daniel also having measured all future time by the succession of four principal kingdoms, and having affirmed that the kingdom of Christ should be set up during the last of the four kingdoms, the phrase of 'the latter times or days, or of the last times or days,' may still more properly signify the times of the Christian dispensation. Thus it is applied by the author of the Epistle to the Hebrews, Heb. i. 1, 2, 'God, who, at sundry times, and in divers manners, spake in time past unto the fathers by the prophets, hath in these last days spoken unto us by his Son.' Thus also St Peter, 1 Pet. i. 20. 'Christ verily was fore-ordained before the foundation of the world, but was manifest in these last times for you.'

But there is a farther notation of time in the prophet Daniel; there are the last times taken singly and comparatively, or the latter times (as I may say after Mr Mede) of the last times, which are the times of the little horn or of Antichrist, Dan vii. who should arise during the latter part of the last of the four kingdoms, and should be destroyed together with it, after having continued 'a time, and times, and half a time.' What these times signify, and how they are to be computed, hath been shown in a former dissertation: and it is in reference to these times especially, that many things under the gospel-dispensation are predicted to fall out 'in the latter times'

or days, or in the last times or days.' So St Peter speaketh, 2 Pet. iii. 3. 'There shall come in the last days scoffers walking after their own lusts. So too St Jude, ver. 16. 17. 'Beloved, remember ye the words which were spoken before of the apostles of our Lord Jesus Christ; How that they told you, there should be mockers in the last time, who should walk after their own ungodly lusts.' So likewise St Paul, 2 Tim. iii. 1. 'This know also that in the last days perilous times shall come.' These also are 'the latter times' spoken of in the text. In these times the worship of the dead should principally prevail; and that it hath so prevailed, all mankind can testify. The practice might begin before, but the popes have authorized and established it by law. The popish worship is more the worship of demons than of God or Christ.

IV. Another remarkable peculiarity of this prophecy is the solemn and emphatic manner in which it is delivered, 'The spirit speaketh expressly.' Every one will readily apprehend, that by 'the Spirit' is meant the Holy Spirit of God, which inspired the prophets and apostles. So 'the Spirit,' Acts viii. 29. 'said unto Philip, Go near, and join thyself to this chariot.' So 'the Spirit,' Acts x. 19. 'said unto Peter, Behold three men seek thee.' So 'the Spirit,' Rev. xiv. 13. 'saith blessed are the dead who die in the Lord, that they may rest from their labours.' But these things the Spirit only *said*; it is not affirmed, that he said them *expressly*. The Spirit's *speaking expressly*, as * Erasmus and others expound it, is his speaking precisely and certainly, not obscurely and involvedly, as he is wont to speak in the prophets: And Whitby argues farther, that in those times of prophecy, when the prophets had the government of the churches, and spake still in the public assemblies, it might reasonably be said, 'The spirit speaketh expressly,' what they taught expressly in the church. St Paul had indeed before predicted this *apostasy* both in discourse and in a letter to the Thessalonians, and he is by some supposed to refer to that epistle in this place. But though the predictions are alike, yet they are not *expressly* the same; the general subject is the same in both, but the particular circumstances are different, so that the one cannot be said to be copied from

A a 2

* *Præter præscriptæ sive prædictæ, non obscure et involutè, sed madmodum loqui solet in*

the other. There the apostasy is predicted, here it is specified wherein it is to consist. I would therefore prefer Mr Mede's interpretation, that 'the Spirit speaketh expressly' what he speaketh in express words in some place or other of divine writ: and the Spirit hath spoken the same things in express words before in the prophecy of Daniel. Daniel hath foretold in express words the worship of new demons or demi-gods: Dan. xi. 38. 'And with God, or instead of God Mahuzzim in his estate shall be honour; even with God, or instead of God, those whom his fathers knew not shall he honour with gold and silver, and with precious stones, and with desirable things.' The *Mahuzzim* of Daniel are the same as the *Demons* of St Paul, Gods-protectors or Saints-protectors, defenders and guardians of mankind. Daniel also hath foretold in express words, that this worship should be accompanied with a prohibition of marriage: ver. 37. 'Neither shall he regard the God of his fathers, nor the desire of women;' that is he shall neglect and discourage 'the desire of wives,' and all conjugal affection. Daniel hath likewise intimated that this worship should take place 'in the latter times;' for he hath described it in the latter part of his prophecy, and these times he hath expressly named, 'a time, and a time, and half a time.' If the reader hath been at the trouble of perusing the latter dissertation upon the eleventh chapter of Daniel, he will more easily perceive the connexion and resemblance between the two prophecies. This therefore is a prophecy not dictated merely by private suggestion and inspiration, but taken out of the written word. It is a prophecy not only of St Paul, but of Daniel too, or rather of Daniel confirmed and approved by St Paul.

V. Having shewn wherein the great apostasy of the latter times consist, namely in reviving the doctrines concerning demons and worshipping the dead, the apostle proceeds to describe by what means and by what persons it should be propagated and established in the world: 'Speaking lies in hypocrisy, having their conscience seared with a hot iron, or rather, Through the hypocrisy of liars, having their conscience seared with a hot iron.' For the preposition *per* is often signifies as well *by* or *through*: as in the *gospel*, ix. 29. 'this kind can come forth by nothing

THE PROPHECIES.

nothing but *ὑποκριται καὶ νηστειαι* by prayer and fasting: and again in the Acts of the apostles, xvii. 31. 'God hath appointed a day in the which he will judge the world in righteousness *ὑποκριται* by that man whom he hath ordained: and again in St Paul's Epistle to the Romans, xii. 11. 'Be not overcome of evil, but overcome evil *ὑποκριται* by or with good: and again in St Paul's Epistle to Titus, i. 9. 'that he may be able *ὑποκριται* *ὑποκριται* by sound doctrine both to exhort and to convince the gainers: and so likewise in the text, *ὑποκριται* 'by or through hypocrisy' *Liars* too or 'speaking lies' *ψευδοφω* cannot possibly be joined in construction with *τινας* some and *παρασκευασ* 'giving head,' because they are in the nominative case, and this is in the genitive. Neither can it well be joined in construction with *δαιμονων* demons or devils; for how can demon or devils be said to 'speak lies in hypocrisy,' and to have their conscience seared with a hot iron? Besides if *δαιμονων* demons, be taken for devils, and not in the sense that we have explained it, nor with the addition of Epiphanius, then it is not expressed at all, wherein the great apostasy of the latter times consists. The 'forbidding to marry, and commanding to abstain from meats' are circumstances only, and appendages of the great apostasy, and not the great apostasy, itself, which is always represented in scripture as 'spiritual fornication or idolatry' of one kind or other, and it is not likely that the apostle should specify the circumstantial errors and omit the main and capital crime. In this place it is not the great apostasy that he is describing, but the characters and qualities of the authors and promoters of it. Castalio therefore very properly * translates *ὑποκριται* *ψευδοφω* 'through the dissimulation of men speaking lies: I have added *men*, says he, lest 'speaking lies' and what follows should be referred to demons or devils. It is plain then that the great apostasy of the latter times was to prevail 'through the hypocrisy of liars having their conscience seared with a hot iron? and hath not the great idolatry of Christians, and the worship of the dead particularly, been diffused and advanced in the world by such instruments and agents, who have, Rom. i. 25. changed

A 3

* (Per simulationem hominum falsiloquorum) Homines enim, qui per simulationem et sequentia referrentur ad demones Castalio interpretatur.

the truth of God into a lie; and worshipped and served the creature more than the Creator, who is blessed for ever? It is impossible to relate or enumerate all the various falsehoods and lies, which have been invented and propagated for this purpose; the fabulous books forged under the names of apostles, saints and martyrs; the fabulous legends of their lives, actions, sufferings, and deaths; the fabulous miracles ascribed to their sepulchres, bones, and other relics; the fabulous dreams and revelations, visions and apparitions of the dead to the living; and even the fabulous saints, who never existed but in the imagination of their worshippers: and all these stories the monks, the priests, the bishops of the church, have imposed and obtruded upon mankind, it is difficult to say, whether with greater artifice or cruelty, with greater confidence in hypocrisy and pretended sanctity, a more hardened face, or a more hardened conscience. The history of the church, saith Pascal, is the history of truth; but as written by bigotted papists, it is rather the history of lies. So well doth this prophecy coincide and agree with the preceding one, that 'the coming of the man of sin should be after the working of Satan with all power, and signs, and lying wonders, and with all deceivableness of unrighteousness.'

VI. A farther character of these men is given in the following words, 'Forbidding to marry.' The same hypocritical liars, who should promote the worship of demons, should also prohibit lawful marriage. Saturnius or Saturninus, who flourished in the second century, was, as Theodoret * affirms, the first Christian, who declared matrimony to be the doctrine of the devil, and exhorted men to abstain from animal food. But according † to Irenæus and Eusebius. Tatian, who had been a disciple of Justin Martyr, was the first author of this heresy; at least he concurred in opinion with Saturnius and Marcion, and their followers were called the Continentals from their continence in regard to marriage and meats. The Gnostics likewise, as Irenæus and Clemens Alexandrinus inform

ἐκ τῆς αἰσεως καὶ τῆς διανοίας διὰ τὴν ἀσκήσιν αὐτῶν τοιοῦτον δὲ
Nuptias hic primus omnium diaboli doctrinam
† Nuptias autem et ab animatis abstinere. Phcod.

104. Tom. 1. Edn. Paris. 1641.

lib. 4. Cap. 29.

* informs us, asserted that to marry and beget children proceeded from the devil; and under pretence of continence were impious both against the creature and Creator, taught that men ought not to bring into the world other unhappy persons, nor supply food for death. Other heretics in the third century advanced the same doctrines, but they were generally reputed heretics, and their doctrines were condemned by the church. The council of Eliberis in Spain, which was held in the year of Christ 305, was I think the first, that by public authority † forbade the clergy to marry, and commanded even those who were married to abstain altogether from their wives. The council of Neocæsarea, in the year 314, only ‡ forbade unmarried presbyters to marry on the penalty of degradation. At the first general council of Nice, in the year 325, a motion was || made to restrain the clergy from all conjugal society with their wives: but it was strongly opposed by Paphnutius, a famous Egyptian bishop, who yet himself was never married; and to him the whole council agreed, and left every man to his liberty as before. But the monks had not yet prevailed; the monks soon overspread the eastern church, and the western too: and as the monks were the first, who brought single life into repute: so they were the first also who revived and promoted the worship of demons, it is a thing universally known, that one of the primary and most essential laws and constitutions of all monks whether solitary or associated, whether living in deserts or convents, is the profession of single life, to abstain from marriage themselves,

* Nubere et generare a Satana dicunt esse. Iren. Lib. 1. Cap. 23 p. 9. Edit. Græbe. Τῆς δὲ εὐφημίας δι' ὑγκρίσεως ἀνίστηναι, οὐκ ἐν τῇ πτῶσει καὶ τῷ δημιουργῷ, τὸν παντοκράτορα μόνον Θεόν, καὶ διδάσκει μὴ ἀπομαρτυρεῖσθαι γάμον καὶ παιδοποιεῖν, μὴδὲ ἀντισταγῆναι τῷ κοσμῷ δι' ἐντολῆς τοῦ ἱερέως, μὴδὲ ἀντιχρῆσθαι τῇ θανάτῳ τρεφῆναι—Adversus autem æterum genus hæreticorum, qui speciose per continentiam impie se gerunt, tum in creaturam, tum in sanctum opificem, qui est solus Deus omnipotens; et dicunt non esse admittendum matrimonium et liberorum procreationem, nec in mundum esse induendos filios infelices futuros, nec suppeditandum morti nutrimentum. Clem. Alex. Strom. Lib. 3. Cap. 6. p. 531. Edit. Potter.

† Conc. Elib. C. 33. S. Basnagii Annales Vol. 2. p. 322, et 600. Conc. Neoc. Can. 1. Presbyter si uxorem duxerit, ab suo removeatur. Basnag. ib. d. p. 322, et 637.

§ Scratius Hist. Eccles. Lib. 1. Cap. 14. Socrumen. Lib. 5. Basnag. ibid. p. 707. Bingham's Antiquities, &c.

themselves; and to discourage it all they can in others. It is equally certain, that the monks had the principal share in promoting and propagating the worship of the dead; and either out of credulity, or for worse reasons, recommended it to the people with all the pomp and power of their eloquence in their homilies and orations. Read only some of the most celebrated fathers; read the * orations of Basil on the Martyr Mamas, on the forty martyrs; read the orations of Ephraim Syrus on the death of Basil, and on the forty martyrs, and on the praises of the holy martyrs; read the orations of Gregory Nazianzen on Athanasius, and on Basil, and Cyprian; read the orations of Gregory Nyssen on Ephraim Syrus and on the martyr Theodorus, and on Meletius bishop of Antioch; read the sixty sixth, and other homilies of Chrysostom; read his oration on the martyrs of Egypt, and other orations: and you will be greatly astonished to find, how full they are of this sort of superstition, what powers and miracles are ascribed to the saints, what prayers and praises are offered up to them. All these were monks, and most of them bishops too, in the fourth century: and the superstitious worship which these monks begun, the succeeding monks completed, till at length the very relics and images of the dead were worshipped as much as the dead themselves. The monks then were the principal promoters of the worship of the dead in former times: and who are the great patrons and advocates of the same worship now? Are not, their legitimate successors and descendents, the monks and priests and bishops, of the church of Rome? and do not they also profess and recommend single life, as well as the worship of saints and angels? As long ago as the year 386, pope † Siricius held a council of eighty bishops of Rome, and forbade the clergy to cohabit with their wives. This decree was confirmed by pope † Innocent at the beginning of the fifth century: and the celibacy of the clergy was fully decreed by † Gregory the seventh in the eleventh century; and this hath been the universal law and practice of the church ever

der may see some extracts out of all these in Sir Isaac
vations on Daniel, Chap. 14.

S. Basnage. *Ibid.* p. 522.

14. S. Basnage. *Ibid.* et Vol. 3. p. 106.

ver since. Thus hath the worship of demons and the prohibition of marriage constantly gone hand in hand together : and as they who maintain the one, maintain the other ; so it is no less remarkable, that they who disclaim the one, disclaim also the other, and assert the liberty which nature, or (to speak more properly) the author of nature hath indulged to all mankind.

Our Maker bids increase : Who bids abstain
But our destroyer, foe to God and man ?

Milton.

VII. The last note and character of these men is 'commanding to abstain from meats which God had created to be received with thanksgiving of them which believe and know the truth :' where in the original the word *commanding* is not expressed but understood, with an ellipsis that commentators * have observed to be sometimes used by the best classic authors. The same lying hypocrites, who should promote the worship of demons, should not only prohibit lawful marriage, but likewise impose unnecessary abstinence from meats : and these two, as indeed it is fit they should, usually go together, as constituent parts of the same hypocrisy. As we learn from † Irenæus, the ancient heretics called Continents, who taught that matrimony was not to be contracted, reprobating the primitive work of God, and tacitly accusing him who made man and woman for the procreation of human kind, introduced abstinence also from animal food, shewing themselves ungrateful to God who created all things. It is as much the law and constitution of all monks to abstain from meats as from marriage. Some never eat any flesh; others only of certain kinds and on certain

* Est hic *ελλειψις*, contrarii. Deest enim *μελιοντων*, quod addit hunc locum citauit Epiphanius, aut *ποιοντων* quod addit Syrus. Similis sententia *ελλειψις* 1 Cor. xiv. 34. et hic supra II. 12. Sic Phædrus, *Nepotio diuisti, vtrum cruciat fame*, supple *jubeo*. Grot in locum.

† *οι καλεμεινοι ηρηταις αγνιαν ιηουζαν υστταντες την αρχαιαν οκλασην του Θεου, και περιη κατατηραντες ου αρην και θηλυ εις γινεσθαι κινεσθαι ποιηκοτες : και των λεγομενων παρ αυτοις ιμφοχων αποχην εισηκουσαντες, χαρακτηριζοντες ην παντα απιστανουσιν Θεω*. Qui vocantur continentes, contemnerunt non contrahendum esse matrimonium : reprobantes scilicet ornamētum illud opificium Dei, et tacite accusantes Deum qui masculum et faeminam condidit ad propagationem generis humani. Induxerunt etiam abstinentiam ab eset eorumque animas oppellunt ingratis se exhibentes erga eum qui universis creatis Deum. Iren. apud Euseb. Eccles. Hist. Lib. V. Cap. XXV.

certain days. Frequent fasts are the rule, the boast of their order; and their carnal humility in their spiritual pride. So lived the monks of the ancient church; so live, with less strictness perhaps, but with greater ostentation, the monks and friars of the church of Rome: and these have been the principal propagaters and defenders of the worship of the dead, both in former and in later times. The worship of the dead is indeed so monstrously absurd as well as impious, that there was hardly any possibility of its ever succeeding and prevailing in the world, but by hypocrisy and lies; but that these particular sorts of hypocrisy, celibacy under pretence of chastity, and abstinence under pretence of devotion, should be employed for this purpose, the Spirit of God alone could foresee and foretell. There is no necessary connection between the worship of the dead, and forbidding to marry and commanding to abstain from meats: and yet it is certain, that the great advocates of this worship have, by their pretended purity and mortification, procured the greater reverence to their persons, and the readier reception to their doctrines. But this idle, popish, monkish abstinence is as unworthy of a Christian, as it is unnatural to a man. It is perverting the purpose of nature, and 'commanding to abstain from meats, which God hath created to be received with thanksgiving by the believers and them who know the truth.' The apostle therefore approves and sanctifies the religious custom of blessing God at our meals, as our Saviour, when he was to distribute the loaves and the fishes, Matt. xiv. 19. xv. 36. 'looked up to heaven, and blessed, and brake:' and what then can be said of those, who have their tables spread with the most plentiful gifts of God, and yet constantly sit down and eat up again without suffering so much as one thought of the giver to intrude upon them? It is but a thought, it is but a glimpse of devotion; and can they, who refuse even that, be reputed either to *believe* or to *know the truth*? None is free to partake of all the good creatures of God, but thanksgiving is the necessary condition. For, as the apostle sheweth in the next verses, ver. 4.—5. 'every creature of God is good, and nothing to be refused, if it be received with thanksgiving: For it is sanctified by the word and prayer.' The apostle proceeds to say,

That it is the duty of the ministers of the gospel to press and inculcate these things. ver. 6. 'If thou put the brethren in remembrance of these things, thou shalt be a good minister of Jesus Christ, nourished up in the words of faith, and of good doctrine, whereunto thou hast attained. All that is preached up of such abstinence and mortification, as well as all the legends of the saints, are no better than 'profane and old wives fables : ' Godliness is the only thing, that will truly avail us here and hereafter, ver. 7 and 8. 'But refuse, profane, and old wives fables, and exercise thyself rather unto godliness : For bodily exercise profiteth little ; but godliness is profitable unto all things, having promise of the life that now is, and of that which is to come.'

END OF VOLUME SECOND,

